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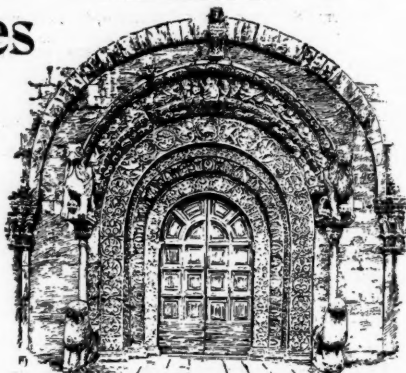
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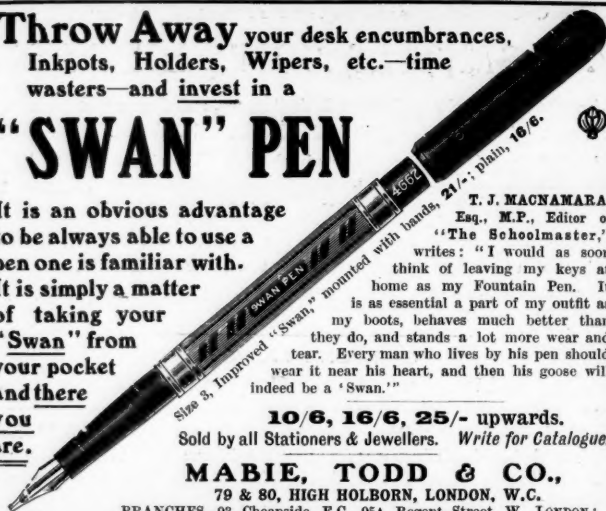
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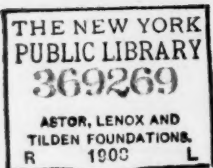
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Art. I.—LABOUR AND SOCIALISM IN AUSTRALIA.

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2. *The Labour Movement in Australasia; a Study in Social Democracy.* London: Constable, 1907.
3. *Democracy versus Socialism.* By Max Hirsch. Melbourne, 1906.
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SOCIALISM entered Australian politics with the appearance of the Australian Labour party. The formation of parties representing the manual workers as a class was a consequence of the disastrous strike which convulsed all Australia during the year 1890. The unions, which had entered light-heartedly on this tremendous struggle, were left by it in a shattered condition. Their financial resources were exhausted; and their members, who had sacrificed between 1,500,000*l.* and 2,000,000*l.* in wages, and thousands of whom found themselves penniless and displaced by non-union men, left them in large numbers. Trade-unionism had to be built up again by long-continued and painstaking effort. The lesson, however, which the unions and their leaders drew from this defeat—the impossibility of a successful industrial war with employers when the latter were really determined to resist—has deeply influenced the political history of Australia, for it led to the determination to concentrate the forces of Labour on the political field, and to make of the unions a political machine for the creation and maintenance of separate political Labour parties, in the hope that, by so doing, Labour might achieve by legislation what it had failed to enforce by industrial warfare.

The conditions for the organisation of a Labour party
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were and are more favourable in Australia than in the mother-country or in the United States. Parties of historical origin, having fixed political traditions, have not yet had time to develope. Party distinctions exist, but they are mainly based on economic differences. In the earlier days the land question had been the most important factor in determining political groupings. On the one side stood the pastoralists, holding land under long leases from the Crown, and their adherents; on the other stood all those who desired the land to be made accessible to cultivators. When this question was decided, the fiscal question became the solvent separating men into different camps. But, strange to say, the working classes have not been united on this issue. In Victoria, it is true, practically all of them are, and for many years have been, Protectionists; but in New South Wales the great majority of the workers are Free-traders. In the other States they are more or less divided on this question. Moreover, Free-trade has not become identified with Liberalism or Protection with Conservatism. In Victoria the majority of men of advanced political thought are Protectionists, whereas the majority of the Conservative or reactionary classes are Free-traders. In New South Wales it is just the other way. Moreover, in no State was there any political party to which the working classes were so bound by ties of sentiment or tradition that their detachment from it would offer any serious difficulty. Nor was or is there any party organisation capable of offering strong resistance. Consequently, the principal obstacles which have so far prevented the aggregation of the manual-labour classes into a separate and independent party in the United Kingdom and the United States have, so far, had no existence in Australia. Even the fiscal question forms no difficulty in Victoria, where nearly all wage-earners are Protectionists. In the other States, where this issue might have divided the wage-earners, the difficulty was avoided by the party leaving it an open question, on which its members might differ, as long as they conformed to the Labour platform.

Another favourable condition arises from the recent settlement of cultivators upon much of the land of Australia. These settlers were mostly successful miners, shearers, sailors, and other manual labourers, who, in

becoming farmers, have not changed the class feeling which they imbibed as wage-workers. Where the original settlers still hold the land, as is the case over large areas in Queensland, New South Wales, and Western Australia, they generally vote for the Labour party. Thus the leader of the Federal Labour party represented, and several of its members still represent, constituencies which are mainly composed of land-owning farmers.

As a result of these favourable conditions, as well as of the energy and organising capacity of the leaders, the establishment of a Labour party, based on trade-unionism, was immediately and permanently successful. At the next general election (1892) five Labour members were returned in Victoria, the total numbers of the Legislative Assembly being 95; three other members, moreover, though not returned as Labour members, habitually voted with them. Since then the strength of the Labour party has steadily increased. It now consists of eighteen members, in an assembly the total membership of which has been reduced to sixty-eight owing to an amendment of the electoral law. There being three parties, the Opposition consists of these Labour members and eleven others, and is officially led by the leader of the Labour party, Mr M. G. Prendergast.

In New South Wales the new party was even more successful. The general election took place in 1891; and 36 Labour members were sent to a House consisting of 141 members. This great success, however, was not maintained. In 1894 the number of Labour members was reduced to 27 in a House which, owing to a change in the electoral law, had been reduced to 125 members. In 1895, after a dissolution, the number was further reduced to 19. Since that date, however, the party has steadily added to its parliamentary strength. It now consists of 25 members in a House which, owing to a further amendment of the electoral law, has a total membership of 90. The House also contains four members who are not of the Labour party but who usually vote with it.

In Queensland the Labour party entered Parliament at the general election of 1893. Owing to a system peculiarly favourable to plural voting, it sent no more than 15 representatives to a House of 72 members. Plural voting was abolished in 1902, when the system of

'one adult one vote' was adopted. At the ensuing general election 35 Labour members were elected. A coalition government was then formed, containing two members of the Labour party.

South Australia returned three Labour members in 1891, all to the Legislative Council. In 1894, however, it also elected eleven members to the Legislative Assembly, then consisting of 54 members. These numbers were increased to twelve members of the Assembly and six of the Council by the general election of 1896. At the present time the Labour party holds twenty seats in the Assembly, reduced to 42 members, and only two in the Legislative Council. Owing to an arrangement made with the leader of the Opposition, prior to the general election of 1905, Mr Price, the leader of the Labour party, has become Premier in a coalition government composed of members of these two parties.

In the other States of the Commonwealth, Tasmania and Western Australia, the Labour party is of later origin. In Tasmania it is represented by 7 members in the Legislative Assembly (consisting of 35 members), and in Western Australia by 15 in the Legislative Assembly (consisting of 50 members), and one in the Legislative Council. This represents a decline of representation, for in the preceding Parliament the Labour party held 22 seats in the Assembly, and, with the support of four Independents, held the reins of government.

So much for the Labour party in the several State Parliaments. In the sphere of the Commonwealth it has been even more successful. The first Commonwealth Parliament was elected in 1900. The Labour party returned on that occasion 18 members of the House of Representatives and ten members of the Senate. At the ensuing general election, held in 1903, the Labour party materially increased its strength. It elected 27 members to the House of Representatives and 15 to the Senate. As the House of Representatives consisted of 76 members and the Senate of 36, the Labour party held slightly more than one-third of the seats in the former House and nearly one-half the seats in the Senate. The remaining seats were held as follows:—The Opposition, consisting of Free-traders and independent Protectionists, led by Mr G. H. Reid, numbered 33 in the House of

Representatives and 13 in the Senate. The Government party, all Protectionists, led by the Prime Minister, Mr Deakin, numbered 16 in the House of Representatives and 8 in the Senate. It will thus be seen that the party holding the smallest number of seats had grasped the reins of government, and must have been supported by one of the other parties. The Labour party rendered this support.

The last elections, which took place in December 1906, may materially alter the relations of parties to each other. The Ministerial party, having gained one seat in the House of Representatives and lost five seats in the Senate, now consists of 17 and 3 members in the House and the Senate respectively. The Opposition, including independent Protectionists, has lost one seat in the House and has gained five in the Senate. It now consists of 32 representatives and 18 senators. The divergence of its two sections on the fiscal question has, however, become more pronounced. The Labour party, while losing one seat in the House, has maintained its strength in the Senate, and consists now of 26 and 15 members respectively. The principal result of these changes is that the anti-socialist opposition in the Senate, consisting of exactly one-half the number of senators, is now strong enough to reject any concession to the Labour party which might be made in the House of Representatives—a condition which seems to militate against a successful renewal of the alliance between the Government and the Labour party. An alliance between the Ministerial party and the Opposition, even if the irreconcilable Protectionists stood out, would have a small majority in each House, thus enabling the Government to be carried on. Great difficulties, personal and political, however, stand in the way of this consummation.

The slight check to the growth of the Labour party applied through the late elections, is due to two causes. One is that the anti-socialist electors had gained a clearer conception of the aims of the Labour party, and were slightly better organised than on previous occasions. The other, and more potent, is that in Queensland a split had occurred in the ranks of the Labour party itself, which deprived it of three seats each in the House and in the Senate. As far as this latter cause is concerned,

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the check to the progress of the Labour party is not likely to be permanent.

The representation of the States in the new Legislature is as follows:—

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

—	Ministerial Protectionists.	Labour.	Opposition.		Totals.
			Free-traders.	Protectionists.	
New South Wales	5	11	11	—	27
Victoria . . .	8	4	2	8	23
Queensland. . .	1	4	4	—	9
South Australia .	1	3	3	—	7
West Australia .	1	3	—	1	5
Tasmania . . .	1	1	3	—	5
Total . . .	17	26	23	9	75

SENATE.

—	Ministerial Protectionists.	Labour.	Opposition.		Totals.
			Free-traders.	Protectionists.	
New South Wales	—	—	6	—	6
Victoria . . .	2	2	—	2	6
Queensland. . .	—	3	3	—	6
South Australia .	—	4	2	—	6
West Australia .	—	6	—	—	6
Tasmania . . .	1	—	3	2	6
Total . . .	3	15	14	4	36

The Labour party draws much of its strength from those States whose large and only partly developed territory is occupied by a scanty population, viz. Queensland and Western Australia. This condition is particularly noticeable in the Senate, owing to the fact that each State elects the same number of senators, regardless of differences in the number of their population. Thus five out of the six senators elected by Queensland to the late Senate were Labour members; and in the present

Senate all the West Australian senators belong to the same party. All the New South Wales senators, on the other hand, belong to the Opposition. This is owing to the large preponderance of Free-traders in that State.

In order that the political situation may be understood, attention must also be drawn to the fact that the Government party stands alone in being united on the fiscal question. They are all Protectionists. The anti-socialist opposition in the House of Representatives is composed of two Victorian Free-traders, three from South Australia, three from Tasmania, three from Queensland, and eleven from New South Wales. It also contains eight Victorian Protectionists, and one from Western Australia. The Labour party, the members of which, outside of Victoria, are elected regardless of their fiscal faith, contains, as far as now ascertainable, twelve Free-traders and fourteen Protectionists. Moreover, the Government party, all Protectionists, contains a preponderating number of men who otherwise display strong democratic tendencies with socialistic colouring. The Opposition, composed of Free-traders and independent Protectionists, is more conservative, though it embraces a considerable number of Radical Democrats, and is united upon the one issue, resistance to socialism. The Labour party, also composed of Free-traders and Protectionists, is now unanimously in favour of socialism.

The electoral successes of the Labour party are largely due to its superior organisation. While the other parties have hitherto lacked any permanent organisation, and have depended upon such temporary organisations as might be evolved *ad hoc* on the eve of general elections, the Labour party has created a permanent organisation of remarkable efficiency and discipline.

Its permanent body consists of the members of the trade-unions, all of whom are bound to vote for selected Labour candidates under penalty of expulsion from their union. The union leaders are also the political leaders of the party; and nearly all its parliamentary and municipal representatives have won their spurs as members of unions. The political organisation is, in most of the States, known as 'The Labour Political League.' It has created branches in every subdivision of such electorates as it may hope eventually to carry. These branches,

of which all trade-unionists are *ipso facto* members, look after the enrolment of electors favourable to Labour views, and nominate parliamentary and municipal candidates. Each branch sends delegates to a conference of all the branches within an electorate, which conference selects the parliamentary candidate of the party for such electorate, subject to the approval of the General State Committee. In each State there is a permanent General Committee of the party, chosen annually, which co-ordinates and supervises the activities of the branches and possesses large powers of direction. Once a year all the branches within a State send delegates to a conference at which the General Committee is elected and the platform and constitution of the party are confirmed or amended. Every third year an Inter-state Conference of Delegates is held, which deals in like manner with the platform and constitution of the Federal Labour party.

Every candidate for municipal and parliamentary positions is required to sign the following pledge:—

‘I, the undersigned candidate for selection by the . . . branch of the Labour party’s recognised political organisation, hereby give my pledge that, if not selected, I will not in any way oppose the candidature of the duly selected nominee, and, if selected, I will go through with the contest. If elected, I agree to advocate and support the principles contained in the . . . Labour party’s platform, and on all questions affecting the platform to vote as a majority of the parliamentary party may decide at a duly constituted caucus meeting.’

In addition to voting on questions affecting the platform as a majority of the caucus may decide, Labour members are also expected so to vote on all questions which decide the fate of a Ministry. Though, for obvious reasons, this obligation does not appear in writing, it is nevertheless rigidly enforced; and a member disregarding it would have no hope of renomination by the party.

Inside and outside of Parliament the Labour party thus enforces a discipline which enables it to wield its forces with absolute efficiency. This discipline and rigid organisation, together with the divisions amongst its opponents, have enabled the Labour party to increase its representation and to exercise a power over legislation

far in excess of the proportion which the number of its adherents bears to the total number of voters. To some extent this condition must continue, for there is as yet no prospect of any similarly efficient party organisation on the other side. Efforts, however, have been made to heal the division amongst the opponents of the Labour party. Some Protectionists have joined the Free-traders in an anti-socialistic organisation and party on the basis of dropping the fiscal issue. How far such a combination can induce the electors to disregard the fiscal opinions of a candidate, and for how long such a combination can last, the future alone can show. All that can be said at present is that the recent elections have yielded no marked result in this direction.

Another cause making for the success of the Labour party has been the extension of the suffrage to women, adopted in four of the States and, since 1902, in the Commonwealth. Experience has shown that the proportion of women of the working class who use the right to vote is very much larger than that existing in the classes which might be expected to vote against the measures of the Labour party. The abstention of the latter class of women, when not necessitated by distance from the polling-booth, as is the case largely with the wives and daughters of farmers, arises from a false idea that it is unwomanly to enter a polling-booth. This idea is disappearing; and in future elections the woman's vote is likely to give less help to the Labour party.

The successes of the Labour party have been won entirely at the expense of politicians who stood nearest to them in the advocacy of democratic measures and of legal interference with industrial conditions in favour of the workers. Politicians expressing such views generally represented constituencies containing a large number of working-class voters, whose support they received. When, however, candidates appeared in the field who bore the hall-mark of the Labour Political Leagues, these voters mostly transferred their support to them. Where their number was sufficiently large, the Labour candidate was elected. Failing this, the seat fell to a candidate holding views in accord with those of the more conservative electors. The instances in which the Labour party abstained from running a candidate in a favourable

locality out of consideration for its democratic representative, even if he habitually supported Labour measures, are exceedingly few. Lately the party has even refused to ratify an arrangement made by its official leader, Mr Watson, with the Deakin Government, by which ministers and certain of their supporters were granted immunity from Labour opposition. For most of the seats in question official candidates of the Labour party were in the field. The party could not afford to act otherwise. It could not hope to gain electorates in which the majority of voters are Conservatives; its success was, and is, only possible at the expense of its neighbours; and these have been ruthlessly sacrificed.

The first indication of the direction in which the political movement of the Australian unions would travel was given immediately after the collapse of the maritime strike of 1890. A meeting took place in Brisbane towards the end of that year, composed of delegates of various trade-unions, the preponderating numbers being those of representatives of bush-workers and miners in the northern States. The Council of the Federation subsequently issued a 'political platform' adopted at the conference. As this is the first political platform published on behalf of any body authorised to speak for Australian workers, it is of sufficient importance to be here reproduced almost in full.

'The general Council of the Australian Labour Federation recommends to its various districts the consideration of such political action as is demanded by the increasing intelligence of the age, and the desire for social justice which now moves the workers of the world.

'Federated political action is a force, the potency of which, if rightly appreciated, is second only to federated social action. All forces must be availed of if it is the purpose of the workers of Australia to root out those social wrongs which deprive the workers in other lands of all the happiness of living, and already show themselves in this so-called "paradise" of the working-man.'

After setting forth the 'social wrongs' from which the working classes suffer, the manifesto proceeds:—

'This general Council is individually and collectively convinced, and believes, as the vast majority of thinking workers

are coming to believe, that social misery, poverty, vice, and enmity are the natural fruits of the industrial system as it exists to-day, denying to the workers the liberty to work and live except by permission of a class which is permitted to hold for its own advantage the means of production and distribution without which none can live. And this general Council is further convinced, and believes that by industrial reorganisation, as hereinafter proposed, every man and woman would be insured work, every old person and young person and sick person would be insured comfort, and every child born into the State would be ensured full opportunity to develop its brain and body as is possible in our civilisation, did we only cease to compete with one another.

'Therefore this general Council recommends and urges the unions and members of the Federation to authorise its executive to declare that the present industrial system, commonly called the competitive system, is destructive, pernicious, and altogether evil, and must be replaced by a social system which will not leave it in the power of one man to take advantage of the necessities or disabilities of another, and which will provide for all the workers opportunities to avail themselves of the bounties of nature, and to partake fully of the fruits of civilisation, and to receive the full benefit of their share of the common toil.'

The political aims of the Federation are defined as follows:—

'1. The nationalisation of all sources of wealth, and all means of producing and exchanging wealth.

'2. The conducting by the State authority of all production and all exchange.

'3. The pensioning by the State authority of all child, aged, and invalid citizens.

'4. The saving by the State authority of such proportion of the joint wealth-production as may be requisite for installing, maintaining, and increasing national capital.

'5. The maintenance by the State authority from the joint wealth-production of all education and sanitary institutions.

'6. The just division among all the citizens of the State of all wealth-production, less only that part retained for public and common requirements.

'7. The reorganisation of society upon the above lines to be commenced at once, and pursued uninterruptedly until social justice is fully secured to each and every citizen.'

It is recognised that it is only by political and constitutional means that these ends can be attained.

'Therefore the general Council recommends the adoption of a People's Parliament platform, and the subordination of all other measures to that all-important step. In one year a People's Parliament will give Queensland workers more justice than can be wrung from capitalistic Parliaments in a generation.

'The People's Parliament Platform.'

'1. Universal white adult suffrage for all parliamentary and local elections; no plural voting; no nominee or property-qualification chamber.

'2. State registration of all citizens as electors.

'3. Provisions for full and complete enfranchisement of the floating population.

'4. All parliamentary elections on one day, and that day a close holiday, and all public-houses closed.

'5. Equal electoral districts on adult population basis.

'6. Annual Parliaments.

'7. Abolition of veto.

'Conditions of Labour Candidature.'

'1. All Labour representatives to agree to occupy seats on Opposition cross-benches, no matter what party is in power.

'2. Previous to election, Labour candidates shall give a written pledge to resign on a requisition signed by a two-thirds majority of their constituents.'

The foregoing document shows that, from the start, the creation of a socialistic State was the conscious aim of many of the leaders of the Labour party. It would, however, be a mistake to assume that the authors of this document faithfully represented the opinions and aims of the majority of the workers of Australia. The majority of the delegates represented bush-workers and miners, men who in their isolation had eagerly absorbed socialistic literature and were predisposed to the acceptance of any plausible scheme for the regeneration of humanity. The great majority of the Australian workers, however, had not as yet travelled so far. Their aims were the more modest ones of obtaining, through political action, that immediate improvement of wages and working conditions which they had failed to achieve through industrial warfare. When, therefore, the Political Labour parties were

organised in the several States, the open demand for the acquisition and conduct of all industries by the State was kept out of their platforms. These first platforms are such as any democratic party, however individualistic, might, with few exceptions, have adopted. The greater number of the planks are of a political character; and nearly all the others demand legislation regarding industrial conditions, such as Eight-hour Acts, Factory Acts, Minimum Wages Acts, compulsory arbitration between employers and employed, old-age pensions, and measures of like character. All the platforms, however, contain a demand for a national bank of deposit and issue. The New South Wales platform demands the nationalisation of the land, and the others the progressive taxation of the unimproved value of the land; that of Victoria the establishment of a State department for fire and life insurance. The Queensland and South Australian platforms also demand the exclusion of coloured aliens.

The parliamentary action of the several Labour parties corresponded with the more moderate tone of these platforms. Till the establishment of the Commonwealth in 1900, their endeavours were exerted mainly in the direction of securing more democratic forms and methods of government and improved working conditions for the masses of the people. Whether the measures which the Labour party has promoted during this period always, or even generally, tend in these directions, may be open to question. But there can be no question that they were so intended. Nor can it be denied that the improvement of the present social system, and not its destruction, with a view to the creation of a new system, has been, during this period, the aim of the Labour parties in the Parliaments of the several Australian States.

Their main achievements have been the establishment of an old-age pension system in Victoria and New South Wales, of the wage-board system in Victoria, and of the Compulsory Arbitration Acts in New South Wales and Western Australia. The main object of the two last measures is to secure to all manual workers a minimum wage which will allow of the satisfaction of reasonable wants. The method employed in Victoria—the wage-board system—differs materially from those adopted in the other States. Under the former system a special

tribunal is created for every trade, consisting of an equal number of representatives of employers and employed engaged in the industry concerned, presided over by a chairman jointly elected or, in case of non-agreement, appointed by the chief secretary. While expert knowledge of each industry is thus utilised in determining the wages payable in it, the further precaution has been taken of making every decision of a Board subject to review in the Supreme Court, should any person affected thereby so desire. The Compulsory Arbitration Acts, on the other hand, create a tribunal composed of a presiding judge and of two assessors elected respectively by the employers and organised employés (trade-unionists) of the whole State, which tribunal deals with all the industries of the State. It adjudicates not only as to wages, but as to all other conditions of employment as well. Its decisions may be made binding upon the whole industry to which they relate; and an appeal to the Supreme Court only lies on questions of law.

One of the provisions of this law is especially characteristic. It provides that preference in employment shall be given to trade-unionists; and this clause has been strictly enforced. Under it employers have been fined for engaging non-unionist workers when workers belonging to the union were available, though the latter were inferior workmen. Another provision is that the employer is not at liberty to discharge workmen except for cause shown. If the cause is a reduction in output, he must discharge workmen in the order of their engagements, those engaged last having to be discharged first. It will thus be seen that the Arbitration Acts go much further than the Wage-board Acts, and contain provisions which have the effect of conferring legal privileges upon trade-unionists, thus creating a privileged class of workers. It is admitted that one of the objects of these provisions is political, viz. to drive all the manual workers into the unions, and thus to increase the hold of the Labour organisation over its voters and to enlarge the numbers of the party. This object has also been steadily kept in view by the Federal Labour party, as will presently be shown.

The tyrannical conditions created by these Acts should not be overlooked in any consideration of the influence

of the Labour party on Australian legislation. The Melbourne 'Age' (July 23, 1904) writes as follows:

'The position taken up by some of the Sydney unions under the Arbitration Act is this. "The Act allows our members a first call upon available employment, and therefore workmen must pay up and join us or be unemployed. It must rest with us, however, to dictate the terms upon which workmen shall be admitted to our unions, or whether they shall be admitted at all." This is by no means an overstatement. In connexion with the Coal-lumpers' Union, for instance, the conditions are that every candidate for membership shall be proposed and seconded by financial members two weeks before the regular meeting, and must pay an entrance fee of one guinea. How is an unemployed coal-lumper, who probably has a wife and large family, to spare a guinea? He must do so, however, or starve. Further than this, even if he find the guinea, he may be debarred from working for his living by petty personal prejudice. A ballot is required; and a very limited number of black balls is sufficient to reject the applicant. Foreigners must produce an elector's right before the ballot; and Australians or Europeans must do so within six months of their admission. Thus a coal-lumper must qualify to vote for a Trades Hall candidate, fly the country, or remain idle.'

Appearing in a newspaper which for many years has advocated similar legislation, and which also supported the Federal Compulsory Arbitration Act, this criticism cannot be regarded as coming from a hostile source.

The Compulsory Arbitration Acts of Australia have not yet been in existence long enough to develop their tendencies to the full. They are however modelled on the New Zealand Act of the same title, which has now been on the Statute-book for about ten years. It may therefore be predicted that the economic result of the Australian Acts will not materially differ from that of their prototype. Some of these results have been graphically described by Mr Edward Tregear, who, as Secretary for Labour, is charged with the administration of the New Zealand Act. Mr Tregear is a socialist and has been an ardent advocate of this type of legislation for many years. His evidence, therefore, is that of a friend and not of a captious critic. In an official Report, dated May 31, 1904, and addressed to his official superior, the Minister of

Labour (the late Mr Richard Seddon), Mr Tregear maintains that the advantages which the Act was intended to secure to the working classes are being nullified by the rise in rent and in cost of goods. The following quotations will show the trend of this Report:—

‘The general effect of the Act has been to benefit the whole community by insuring to the employer stability of business and output, to the worker higher wages and shorter hours, to the general public that continuity of trade and business which was formerly too often dislocated by the mischievous waste of strike and lock-out. These results have been of high advantage to the whole colony, as the great prosperity shown by every indication of the economic barometer denotes. Such effects are, however, rapidly becoming neutralised; and soon only the empty shell of an apparent prosperity will be left us if the unbridled covetousness of a few be not regulated and checked.

‘Some of the necessities of life cost more than in former years; their price is rapidly advancing, and this out of all proportion to the rise in wages of producers. Of course the rise in wages given by the Arbitration Court to certain classes of workers is asserted by some to be the reason for the increased cost of articles and services; but this argument runs in a vicious circle, for it is the increased cost of necessities which has caused the concession of higher wages. There has been no fair ratio between the rise in wages and the rise in prices. The fact is that there is a third hand in the game besides the employer and employé; and it is this third man—the nonproducing ground-landlord of city and suburban property—who alone will rise a winner in the end.

‘Other items of necessities, such as meat, bacon, eggs, coal, firewood, etc., have also risen in price considerably, and have helped to minimise any advance in workers’ wages. It is beyond doubt that the advantages bestowed by progressive legislation are gradually being nullified, and will eventually be destroyed by certain adverse influences. Those influences must be sought out and neutralised fearlessly and effectively in the interests of all classes of workers—i.e. of the vast majority of the citizens of the colony.’

The facts underlying Mr Tregear’s Report are confirmed by Mr T. Coghlan, then Government Statist of New South Wales. In 1904 Mr Coghlan reports as regards New Zealand that, while wages in the large centres have risen $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. during the preceding fifteen years, the

price of meat has advanced 100 per cent., house rent 30 to 50 per cent., and other items from 10 to 50 per cent. Mr Tregear naturally tries to discredit the view that these increases in the cost of living are consequences of the artificial interference with wages which the Compulsory Arbitration Act was intended to produce. Less partial critics however cannot shut their eyes to this fact, especially as no such increases have taken place during this time in any of the Australian States.

The New Zealand correspondent of the Melbourne 'Age' writes on this subject as follows, May 6, 1904:—

'There is at present a movement in both the North and South islands to obtain a reduction in the price of bread. While flour in Melbourne is from 7*l.* 10*s.* to 8*l.*, it is about 10*l.* 5*s.* in Auckland. Thus, despite the fact that last season the colony had 1,500,000 bushels available for export, wheat is dearer to the extent of about 6*d.* a bushel than in Australia. Bread is 7*d.* the 4-lb. loaf in Auckland, and runs up to 11*d.* in the country districts.

'Inquiry into the causes of the high price of bread has revealed a remarkable state of affairs. There is a combine of bakers to keep up the price of bread, a combine of millers to keep up the price of flour, and a combine of farmers to keep up the prices of wheat and other products. All these combines claim that they were necessary, in the first instance, to fight the trades-unions in the Arbitration Court; and that after awards have been given, combination to maintain prices is necessary to enable employers to pay their way. Industrial legislation forces employers to form associations, for otherwise they could not have their case presented to the Arbitration Court. Prior to industrial legislation there was free and open competition. Now that all employers have to conduct their businesses very much on the same working basis, competition has been checked, and is in a fair way of disappearing from industry.

'The response made to every award of the Arbitration Court is an increase in prices. Thus every claim from a trades-union for an increase of wages is based largely on the increasing cost of living. And so it goes on—wages increasing and the employers' combines raising prices. The tramway employes in Auckland are as well off as those in Melbourne, but they are seeking increases on account largely of the increased cost of living. The question is, where it is all to end? Wages and prices cannot go on increasing for ever. There

must come a time—and it is not far off—when recourse must be had to sumptuary laws, or when the whole artificial industrial fabric will collapse.'

The Labour party, simultaneously with these activities in the several State Parliaments, has conducted an active and persistent propaganda for socialism outside Parliament. The leading spirit in the conference of the Australian Labour Federation in 1891 was Mr William Lane, who subsequently established the communistic settlement of 'New Australia' in Paraguay. An Englishman, who had imbibed socialism from a close study of Marxian literature, a journalist of great parts, and a magnetic personality, he, more than any other man, gave to the Australian Labour Movement the socialistic direction which now pervades it. In March 1891 he established in Brisbane the first Labour journal of note, 'The Worker,' which is still the most influential Labour paper in the Commonwealth. Its principal object was, and is, the advocacy of socialism. When Mr Lane withdrew from the editorial chair, it was occupied till December 1900 by Mr W. G. Higgs, who vacated it when elected to the Senate of the Commonwealth. Senator Higgs followed in Mr Lane's footsteps with equal ability. Several other Labour papers were subsequently established, notably 'The Tocsin' (Melbourne), 'The Labour Herald' (Adelaide), 'The Worker' (Sydney); all of which took their policy from the Brisbane 'Worker.' In addition to this journalistic propaganda, the platform is constantly and largely utilised for the spread of socialistic ideas. The efforts of Australian Labour leaders in this direction have been reinforced by the engagement, as lecturers, of English Labour leaders, notably Messrs Ben Tillett and Tom Mann. The latter especially has been of immense service to the Socialist party.

The result of this socialist propaganda began to show in the platforms of the Labour party at a comparatively early date. Thus the platform of the New South Wales Labour party, adopted in 1895, contains the following planks—nationalisation of any industry which becomes a private monopoly, nationalisation of the land, nationalisation of coal-mines, State ironworks, State farms, State woollen mills. The socialistic nature of these demands was emphasised in 1897, when the following additional

plank was adopted—the nationalisation of the land, and of the means of production, distribution, and exchange.

Queensland followed suit. In 1898 its Labour party embodied the following demands in its platform—national markets and storehouses, State bank, loans to settlers, State sugar-refineries, quartz-crushing mills, slaughter and chilling works, State manufacture of all railway rolling-stock, State life and fire insurance, State coastal shipping service for the carriage of mails, goods, and passengers. In 1905 the following planks were added thereto—public trust offices, State smelting works, State manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicants, State coal-mines and ironworks. In the same year the following 'objective' was adopted and placed at the head of the constitution of the party:—

'The objective of the Labour Movement is the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth by furtherance in the national, State, and municipal legislation of the following principles: (a) securing full results of their industry to the wealth-producers by collective ownership of means of production, distribution, and exchange, to be obtained through the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the State and local governing bodies; (b) the cultivation of Australian sentiment, based on the maintenance of racial purity, and the development in Australia of an enlightened and self-reliant community.'

The party platforms in the other States show a similar development. Gradually more and more demands of a socialistic character were embodied in them, till at last each of them, with the exception of that of South Australia, embodied the full demand for the socialistic organisation of industry. In the years 1904 and 1905 the demand for the nationalisation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, was introduced either in the platform or in the constitution of the Labour party of every State of the Commonwealth, with the exception of South Australia. The Labour party in that State is no less socialistic than elsewhere; the sole reason for the omission was the fear of alienating the rural voters who preponderate in South Australia.

In the year 1900 the first Commonwealth Parliament was elected; and with it appeared the Federal Labour

party. It is composed of the most able of the Labour leaders of Australia, who elected Mr J. C. Watson, one of the representatives of New South Wales, as their leader. This choice has been very successful. Mr Watson, formerly a compositor, is a man of much intellectual and social culture, of agreeable manners and moderate in speech and temperament. Not only has he led the party in Parliament with consummate skill, but he has been largely successful, outside Parliament, in moderating the language of the party platforms, in concealing the party's real aims, and consequently in abating the mistrust with which these aims have inspired large sections of the public. Nevertheless, or rather for these very reasons, a considerable section of the party, regarding him as a mere opportunist, resists his influence and endeavours to undermine his position. That he and many of his close adherents will sooner or later be displaced by men of less moderate temperament seems to be more than probable.

The first Federal platform was adopted in a conference of the Labour party sitting in Sydney in 1902, and was confirmed in 1904, practically unaltered. The planks composing it are these—maintenance of a White Australia, compulsory arbitration, old-age pensions, nationalisation of monopolies, restriction of public borrowing, reform of Navigation Laws, Commonwealth bank of deposit and issue, Commonwealth life and fire insurance departments, uniform industrial legislation, cheap registration of Federal patents. With the exception of three items, this is a programme which, in these days, will hardly alarm any worthy citizen.

In Parliament, however, the course of the party was less innocent than this platform had led the voters to expect. Especially has this been the case during the second Commonwealth Parliament. The 'White Australia' policy was used to keep white people out of Australia if they came under contract, as well as to prevent coloured labourers from using mail steamers. In the Federal Arbitration Act it was sought to embody a provision which would absolutely exclude any non-union man from employment as long as any unionist was to be had. The further demand, also made by the Labour party, for the insertion of a clause specifically applying this Act to the employees of the State railways led to the

downfall of the first Deakin Ministry and to the advent of a Labour Government, with Mr Watson as Prime Minister. The Commonwealth Trades-mark Act was amended so as to include a union label on the American model, thus boycotting goods not made solely by union-labour, and depriving non-unionists of employment.

The opposition aroused by these legislative enactments, for which the Labour party was sponsor, was intensified by proposals of a directly socialistic character. On the motion of Labour senators, two Royal Commissions were appointed to investigate respectively the tobacco and shipping industries, both of which were said to have grown monopolistic in character. The majority of the members of both these Commissions was selected from the Labour party; and this section of both Commissions has duly reported in favour of nationalising these industries. In a thin Senate, Labour senators also managed to pass a resolution in favour of the nationalisation of the sugar-refining industry.

These various demonstrations of the determination of the Labour party to use the law in order to drive or starve all workers into the unions, and to carry out socialistic schemes in advance of its published platform, roused a considerable amount of public feeling. This found vent in the formation of anti-socialist organisations on a platform which both Free-traders and Protectionists could support, and which met with great success. To unite against the Labour party by sinking the fiscal issue was seen to be the only method to prevent the latter making use alternately of each party for its own ends.

These developments in the Federal sphere reacted upon the States. In every direction the open acknowledgment of the real intentions of the Labour party had roused the resentment of large bodies of electors; and its representatives in the Federal and State Parliaments, with few exceptions, began to fear that they would lose their seats. But a method was not easily found which would pacify the electors without exasperating the wirepullers of the Labour Political Leagues in the several States. The method adopted was to change the wording of the 'objectives' of the State platforms in such a manner that, to the initiated, they would still proclaim the real intentions of the party, while enabling the leaders to deny them in

public. The first and decisive fight for this object was made at the conference of the New South Wales Political Labour League, which took place in February 1905. As a preliminary step it was resolved to exclude the Press from the meetings of the conference, with the exception of one of the party organs, the Sydney 'Worker,' whose discretion the leaders thought could be relied upon. The following account is taken from the report of this paper.

The discussion on the nationalisation proposals was inaugurated by one of the dissentient members of the New South Wales Parliament, Mr J. H. Cann, representing the intensely socialistic mining constituency of Broken Hill. He moved 'That the Federal and State fighting platforms should have a permanent prelude, clearly defining the ultimate purpose of the party thus—a co-operative commonwealth founded upon the socialisation of the production and distribution of wealth.' This meant that the nationalisation proposals would be removed from the comparative obscurity of the party's 'constitution' to the greater publicity of its fighting platform. This proposal was opposed by every other member of the Legislature who took part in the discussion, mainly for reasons which were summed up by a supporter of the motion in these terms: 'The Labour members seem to think that the proposal they are asked to adopt will make their seats harder to gain.'

Mr J. C. Watson, the Federal leader, not only opposed the motion, but also urged the elimination of plank 17 (embodying the nationalisation proposals), 'from the standpoint of tactics.' He admitted that 'there was a necessity for some declaration which would put forward beyond doubt an idea of what the Labour Movement was.' He urged that 'it was the wisest thing to make it a *sine qua non* that those who joined the party were socialists'; and that, 'the sooner it was made clear that the movement was socialistic in its trend and intentions, the better for it'; but that 'they should eliminate plank 17, as it was outside the realm of practical politics at the present time.' An amendment was then proposed and carried, that a committee be appointed to draft an 'objective,' to be placed at the head of the fighting platform. The report of this committee, subsequently presented by Mr Watson, proposed as an 'objective':

- '(a) The cultivation of an Australian sentiment based upon the maintenance of racial purity and the development in Australia of an enlightened and self-reliant community.
- '(b) The securing of the full results of their industry to all producers by the collective ownership of monopolies and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the State and municipality.'

Regarding clause (b) of the proposal, Mr Watson said :

'There was no doubt as to whether monopolies should be in the hands of the community as against private enterprise. They went on to say "the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the State and municipality"; and the only question remaining was whether that sufficiently indicated their attitude in regard to socialism. In his view it made their attitude reasonably clear, and it should take the place of what they had on their platform. They wished to say that while they favoured the collective principle, whilst it was taken as a beacon-light guiding the Labour Movement, they wished to proceed step by step in a manner that would secure success.'

After a prolonged and at times acrimonious debate, the motion to adopt the 'objective' drafted by the committee was carried, as also a resolution to alter clause 17, so as to read 'the nationalisation of the land.'

At the triennial conference of the Federal Labour party, held in Melbourne in July 1905, the same 'objective' as passed in Sydney, and now generally referred to as 'the Watson resolution,' was adopted against considerable opposition, the Victorian and Queensland delegates having been instructed to vote for the adoption of the wording appearing in their respective platforms, i.e. the nationalisation (collective ownership) of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. This conference also adopted another resolution, viz. :

'That the Australian movement be brought into organised relationship with the international movement; and that, with that object in view, steps be taken to secure Australia's direct representation at the next International Conference.'

Since the date of this Federal conference, the party in Queensland and in Victoria have held their annual conferences, and, submitting to the inevitable, have

substituted the Watson resolution for the 'objectives' previously adopted by them. Armed with this change of words, Mr Watson and other members of the party now declare that all the socialistic aims of the party are summed up in the nationalisation of monopolies, and that the party as such does not desire to nationalise non-monopolistic industries. While such a declaration is undoubtedly wise, especially on the eve of a general election, it cannot be accepted as a true or fair statement, because (1) the 'objective' carried by Mr Watson was substituted for the full and fair declaration of the party's aims on the ground that the nationalisation of monopolies was that part of the party's aims which alone was immediately attainable, and that the demand for more had lessened the party's chances of success; (2) the 'objective' itself goes beyond the mere demand for 'the collective ownership of monopolies,' inasmuch as it adds, 'and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the State and municipality.' For, if the State and municipality are to extend their industrial functions beyond 'the collective ownership of monopolies,' they can only do so by extending collective ownership to non-monopolistic industries.

Moreover, in his statement to the Sydney conference, Mr Watson advocated the adoption of this part of the 'objective' on the ground that it 'sufficiently indicated their attitude towards socialism' and 'made their attitude reasonably clear.' This attitude he described as one 'favouring the collective principle,' which is 'the beacon-light guiding the Labour Movement'; but that they wished 'to proceed step by step in a manner that would secure success.' These statements make it quite clear that 'the collective ownership of monopolies' is regarded by him and by the party as merely a step to the socialisation of all industries.

Mr Watson, who, at the 1905 conference in Sydney, laid such stress upon declaring the socialist character of the party, and even advocated that none but socialists should be admitted to its ranks, has elsewhere laid down his definition of what 'socialism' and 'socialist' mean. In a speech at Ballarat on October 10, 1904, he said:

'Socialism means that a State or municipality, or some representative body of the collective forces of the community,

should assume control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and undertake the direction of all industry and the distribution of the wealth which industry produces.'

Having been requested by letter to define socialism, Mr Watson sent a reply (dated March 12, 1906), which was published in the 'Review of Reviews' (Australian edition) of June 1906. It runs as follows:—

'In reply to your letter I may say that, in my view, those people are right who class as socialism all schemes for the advancement of the community. While I think that to be so technically, the word has acquired a significance as particularly applying to collectivism as against individualism. Accepting this view, I should define socialism as aiming at the abolition of the present competitive, and therefore chaotic, industrialism, with the object of substituting the collective ownership of land and capital, and the scientific control of production and exchange and distribution on behalf of the whole people.'

Thus it is admitted that a party composed of socialists aims at more than the nationalisation of monopolies, viz. at that of all industries. It has been shown that the industries which the Labour party desires to nationalise at once are the tobacco, sugar-refining, and shipping industries; and that at the same time it wants the State or Commonwealth to enter into competition with the private banking and life and fire insurance institutions. The three industries threatened with immediate nationalisation have to some extent assumed a monopolistic character in Australia. This character of monopoly is however not inherent in them, as it is in industries dependent upon legal privileges for their existence. The legal privileges responsible for their monopoly character have been conferred upon them subsequent to their establishment. High customs duties on competing goods, so far as the tobacco and sugar industries are concerned, and other legal restrictions against foreign competitors with Australian shipping, are responsible for whatever monopoly has developed in these industries. Yet the Labour party, which is largely responsible for this conversion of competitive into monopolistic industries, now uses their monopolistic character as a pretext for nationalising them, resists all attempts to abolish the monopoly by the removal of the special privileges

conferred upon them, and yet does not propose to nationalise natural monopolies. It is clear, then, that the apparent limitation introduced into the Labour party's programme by the Watson resolution is a pretence; and that the true aim of the party is thoroughly socialistic.

The foregoing sketch of the origin and growth of the Australian Labour party, of its conversion into a Socialist party, and of the measures which it advocates to increase its strength and carry out its objects, will have failed of its purpose if it has not conveyed the idea that the processes described were inevitable. A large body of industrial workers, animated by the conviction that they cannot improve their condition by industrial action, must inevitably attempt to do so by getting hold of legislative power. In the present state of economic knowledge, or rather of economic ignorance, a political party, composed mainly of manual labourers, must, with equal inevitableness, absorb socialistic doctrines and aim at the nationalisation of all industries as the only means by which their industrial aspirations can be fulfilled. The changes through which the Australian Labour party has passed are therefore those through which all Labour parties must pass. In the United Kingdom the attractions of traditional parties may for some time delay the evolution of a powerful Labour party, and the inherent conservatism of the working classes may retard their conversion to socialism; but it would be sanguine to expect that these obstacles will prevent the natural development. Great Britain, therefore, like Australia, will witness the growth of a Labour party of great strength, which will place socialism on its banner. Already she possesses in the Independent Labour party a nucleus around which the masses may gather. The rest is merely a question of time, unless by wise reformatory legislation she, more happy than her daughter, is able so to improve the condition and prospects of her working population that satisfaction may take the place of discontent, and attachment to the existing social system the place of hatred. It is only thus that socialistic dreams will be deprived of their seductiveness.

Art. II.—THE INCOME TAX.

1. *Report from the Select Committee on Income Tax; with the Proceedings of the Committee.* Commons Paper No. 365 of 1906.
 2. *Reports from His Majesty's Representatives abroad respecting Graduated Income Taxes in Foreign States.* Miscellaneous, No. 2 (1905). [Cd. 2587.]
 3. *Taxes and Imposts.* Commons Paper No. 253 of 1906.
 4. *Income Tax Assessments.* Commons Paper No. 333 of 1906.
 5. *Forty-ninth Report of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Inland Revenue.* Cd. 3110 of 1906.
 6. *A History of Taxation and Taxes in England.* By Stephen Dowell. Four vols. London: Longmans, 1884.
 7. *Essays on Taxation.* By Edwin R. A. Seligman. London and New York: Macmillan, 1895.
- And other works.

THE revenue from taxation is, as Blackstone says in his 'Commentaries,' a portion which each subject contributes of his property in order to secure the remainder. The subject, when properly taxed, 'contributes only some part of his property in order to enjoy the rest.' The person who considers himself 'properly taxed' is perhaps a creature too rare and good for general contemplation; but the taxation of the people for the people should be devised by the people who have to pay it. No man likes the payment of taxes, but all men like to talk about them in usually unrestrained language. And the tax which is most freely condemned is that which is the most just in theory and principle.

When the younger Pitt had cleared off the land tax by making it a redeemable rent-charge and had repealed the triple assessment (which was in effect a tax on incomes), he introduced a general tax calculated on the receipts for one year from property and employments. This was the income tax, which came into operation in Great Britain in January 1799. It was, in effect, a graduated tax, because, while incomes under 60*l.* were exempted, incomes between 60*l.* and 200*l.* were assessed at various rates, and the full rate (10 %) was chargeable only on incomes of 200*l.* and over. Moreover, the incomes

of charitable institutions and (from funds) of friendly societies were exempted; and abatements were allowed to the taxpayers for children's allowances and for life insurance premiums. This tax was repealed after the peace of Amiens; and, when Addington, on the recommencement of war, had to impose fresh taxation, he endeavoured to differentiate between income from the funds and general income. This design, strongly opposed by Pitt, was abandoned; but Addington's income tax, imposed in 1803, differed from Pitt's in that it called for not a general return of income from all sources, but particular returns of income from particular sources. With the Income and Property Tax Act of 1803 we have the beginning of the schedule system, which seemed to prepare the way for a complete differentiation that has never yet been made. But, while Addington's tax did not differentiate, it did graduate.* Incomes below 60*l.* in the aggregate were exempt; incomes between 60*l.* and 120*l.* were allowed an abatement; a reduction was allowed for families of more than two children; the rate was 1*s.* in the pound for incomes of 150*l.* and upwards, but varied from 11*d.* to 3*d.* in the pound for incomes between 150*l.* and 60*l.*

The thin edge of differentiation may be perceived in Lord Henry Petty's income tax of 1806, for in it the limit of exemption was reduced from 60*l.* to 50*l.* in respect of incomes derived from labour for daily or weekly wages. When Peel renewed the tax in 1842, he differentiated to this extent, that he raised the limit of exemption to 150*l.* for all incomes. The tax was not then imposed in Ireland, because of the absence there of machinery for its assessment and collection; but the spirit and stamp duties were raised there instead. In 1853, however, Gladstone extended the income tax to Ireland, reduced the limit of exemption to 100*l.*, and allowed an abatement of the tax for incomes between 150*l.* and 100*l.* Thus, in his first Budget, Gladstone adopted in principle both graduation and differentiation in regard to the limit of exemption. For it must be admitted that the system of abatement which has

* Graduation may be briefly described as variation in assessment according to the size of income; and differentiation as variation according to the character or source of income.

prevailed even to this day is really a method of graduation within certain limits. The question of imposing upon what has been termed 'realised' income a higher rate than that upon what has been termed 'precarious' incomes has frequently been raised; and on this head Gladstone's observations in his speech on introducing the Budget of 1853 are specially interesting. With regard to this question, it should be borne in mind that he suggested that the fundholder cannot in fairness be taxed more highly than others. This is why many practical men have withheld judgment until a clear definition of 'realised and 'precarious' incomes can be given. Gladstone's speech in 1853 dealt also with the holders of terminable annuities.

'If these are to be taxed on a lower scale' (he said), 'so must Government life-annuitants, and, with these, life-interests in the funds and jointures and annuities on lands, and, in short, all life-annuitants and life-renters and possessors of entailed estates. So that the real tendency of such exemptions is to break up and destroy the tax. . . . To venture upon schemes such as had been suggested, which, looking well on paper, involved absurdities and iniquities which would end in the destruction of the tax, would be to enter upon a fatal and seductive path which would lead us into a quagmire and throw the whole finance of the Empire into confusion.' (Dowell, iii, p. 135.)

Is it along a fatal and seductive path that Sir Charles Dilke's Select Committee would lead a confiding Chancellor of the Exchequer?

'Whoever hopes a faultless tax to see,

Hopes what ne'er was, is not, and ne'er shall be,'

as Pope remarks, and as many a Minister of Finance and reformer in economics has found. But what is not faultless may often be expedient.

It may be desirable to recall the four maxims laid down by Adam Smith as embodying the qualities desirable in any national system of taxation, viz.: (1) The subjects of every State ought to contribute to the support of the Government, as nearly as possible in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State. (2) The tax which each individual is bound to pay ought to be certain and not

arbitrary. (3) Every tax ought to be levied at the time and in the manner in which it is most likely to be convenient for the contributor to pay it. (4) Every tax ought to be so contrived as to take out and to keep out of the pockets of the people as little as possible beyond what it brings into the public treasury of the State.*

The first of these maxims points to equity and equality; the last three point to expediency. But the principle of equality is just that which it is most difficult to carry into effect. Taxation is, of course, payment for services rendered by the State. But the functions of the State are many and diverse; they are certainly not confined to the protection of persons and property. If equal sacrifices ought to be demanded from all citizens can this be done by exacting from all the same percentage of their pecuniary means? If not, and if 10 % is a greater burden on a small than on a large income, then the principle of graduated taxation is established. But, as J. S. Mill pointed out, the portion of truth that the doctrine contains arises principally from the difference between a tax which can be saved from luxuries and one which trenches ever so little upon the necessities of life.† The most equitable method of adjusting inequalities that suggested itself to Mill was that recommended by Bentham, of 'leaving a certain minimum of income sufficient to provide the necessities of life untaxed'; the exemption in favour of smaller incomes should not, he thought, be stretched further than this.

But what are the necessities of life? They vary with class and occupation. An income tax that treats all kinds of income exactly alike—whether on the profits of trade or those derived from interest or rent, or on salaries, or on professional gains—is, says Mill, 'a visible injustice'; but 'it does not arithmetically violate the rule that taxation ought to be in proportion to means.'‡ And in setting forth the conditions necessary for making an income tax consistent with justice, he says, after specifying minimum exemptions or abatements, that all sums saved from income and invested should be exempt, 'or, if this be found impracticable, that life incomes and

* 'Wealth of Nations,' book v, cap. II.

† 'Political Economy,' book v, ch. II, § 3.

‡ *Ib.* book v, ch. II, § 4.

incomes from businesses and professions should be less heavily taxed than inheritable incomes in a degree as nearly as possible equivalent to the increased need of economy arising from their terminable character, allowance being also made in the case of variable incomes for their precariousness.* It may thus be argued that Mill was, within limits, in favour both of graduation and differentiation. But he also points out that to tax larger incomes at a higher percentage than the smaller is to lay a tax on industry and economy. 'It is not the fortunes which are earned but those which are unearned that it is for the public good to place under limitation.'†

The cleavage in opinion is nowadays much greater with regard to graduation than to differentiation. Those who advocate a strictly proportional rate argue that progressive rates mean socialism and confiscation. Others contend that progressive taxation is necessary to remove inequalities in fortune. But a more reasonable view is that moderate graduation is quite in accordance with the theory of taxation according to individual ability. If, however, progressive taxation is recognised as the application of a principle, it must never be made a principle of itself; for that would be confiscation.

The idea of progressive taxation is not modern. The Athenians in the time of Solon had a classified property tax. In the archonship of Nausinicus (B.C. 378) the bases of taxation were land, houses, slaves, cattle, furniture, and money; and it is more than probable that the impost had by that time become a progressive income tax.‡ We in this country have accepted the introduction of the progressive principle in the death duties; and the same principle underlies the scheme of abatements in our existing system of income tax.

In considering the principle of differentiation we meet with various difficulties. For example, if a tax on property is objectionable because it virtually constitutes a penalty on savings, then an extra tax on income from investments in property or public securities is also a penalty on savings. In effect, the man of precarious income who demands a differential assessment of income

* 'Political Economy,' book v, ch. iii, § 5.

† *Ib.* book v, ch. ii, § 3.

‡ Hildebrand's 'Jahrbücher,' viii, 453.

is proposing a barricade against his own thrifty accumulations. But this objection cannot be accepted as conclusive, because it would bar from taxation both property and product. A property tax is inequitable in theory because property does not measure ability to pay; but income indicates, if it does not measure, some ability to pay. Some economists have advocated a property tax as a supplement to the income tax, in order to tax income from property more than income from personal effort. But the same result could be obtained more simply by differentiating the rate of the income tax; moreover, in this country, property does pay supplementary taxes in the form of death duties. But we meet with the further objection that inequality of treatment is involved if people pay different taxes on the same income. What then is meant by differentiation of taxation? It is that a distinction should be drawn between earned and unearned incomes; and such a distinction was approved by J. S. Mill, an economist orthodox of the orthodox. If we admit this distinction, there is nothing inequitable in taxing property income more than labour income. The distinction may be made by charging different rates, or by laying one uniform rate on all incomes with a super-tax on incomes from property. The latter method is open to the charge that it is double taxation. That may be so; but it is not necessarily unjust taxation, because property is realisable and the income from it is permanent, whereas labour is not realisable except in the form of income, which is terminable and therefore precarious. To be strictly just, however, the income from all property should be taxed; and we cannot assure that unless all income is taxed.

The progressive increase of public revenue has become much easier since direct taxation was introduced. It has been called by Prof. Seligman the last step in the historical development of public revenue. 'It was not until after the establishment of the Roman Empire that the regular direct taxation of the Roman citizen began.'* But in modern civilisation we have a qualitative as well as a quantitative division in wealth. There are rich and poor landowners, large and small employers, highly

* 'Essays on Taxation,' p. 8.

paid and poorly paid wage-earners. It is the qualitative distinction which suggests the principle of differentiation in the assessment of direct taxation. As an example of acceptance of this principle we may indicate the Act to impose a Tax on Incomes of the Colony of Victoria, 1895. By this Act incomes below 200*l.* were free; on incomes from personal exertion the rate was 4*d.* per pound up to 1200*l.*, 6*d.* per pound up to 2200*l.*, and 8*d.* per pound over 2200*l.*; on incomes from the produce of property the rates were double those stated.

It is pertinent now to enquire whether and how the principles of graduation and differentiation are adopted in other States which impose income tax. Much may be learned from the experiences of European nations; and it is desirable to examine these. The income taxes described in the Reports of His Majesty's Representatives abroad (Cd. 2587 of 1905) are all State taxes as opposed to taxes levied for local purposes.* The German and Swiss taxes are imposed by States belonging to a confederation; but as these taxes all form national and not local revenue, they are included in the returns to which we refer. In neither of these cases does the Federal Government, which depends mainly on customs and indirect taxation for revenue, at present levy an income tax; while in the United States of America an income tax has been declared unconstitutional. The income taxes described differ widely in general character. Some of them are taxes affecting the whole income of the taxpayer, such as the Prussian income tax, while others are designed either to supplement existing taxes or to fall only on certain sources of income which are not reached by such taxes. The Austrian income tax is a personal tax superimposed on six other direct taxes (on land, buildings, industrial profits, salaries, etc.). The Bavarian tax is designed to leave untouched incomes already sub-

* These latter have been described, in the case of certain foreign countries and the British self-governing colonies, in a parliamentary return (Cd. 2098 of 1904). They include both taxes which exist along with State income taxes, as in Holland and Prussia, and those which, as in Massachusetts and the province of Ontario, are found independently of any State taxation.

ject to other taxes, like the land tax and industry tax. The Italian and Spanish income taxes are taxes affecting personalty only; but in Spain an industry tax is concurrent with the income tax.

What is brought out in the Reports, under the headings of 'Graduation' and 'Differentiation,' may be briefly summarised. Graduation is not held to apply to a tax which is merely proportional to the net assessable income, and is levied at a constant rate, irrespective of the amount of the income. It is taken to imply a variation or progression in the rate itself having some relation to the amount of the income taxed. Between a 'proportional' and a 'progressive' system of taxation there is, however, in practice frequently no material difference. Whether a tax is described as 'proportional' or 'progressive' depends on whether the proportional or the progressive rate is regarded as the normal rate; and this again depends on the point to which progression is carried in any particular instance. Most of the systems described in the Reports would be classed as progressive, although the progression generally stops at some point or other, after which the rate becomes proportional merely. The leading principle, however, is to impose higher rates as the income increases, so as to throw a more than proportional burden upon the wealthier classes.

Graduation in this sense is effected in the systems described by a regular progressive scale, the main forms of which may be classified under three heads:

'(a) The taxpayers are arranged in a number of categories according to the amount of income returned by or ascribed to them, and a definite sum of money fixed as the tax in each category, which is not subject to variation from year to year. The number of categories is very large (generally well over one hundred), and the rate of progression very gradual. This system is characteristic of the German group of taxes, including the Austrian; and all the German income taxes . . . (except the Bavarian unearned income tax and the Baden tax) afford examples of it. A variation of this method is to be found in some of the smaller states, e.g. Anhalt and Lippe-Detmold and Hamburg, where the definite money rate fixed for each category is a unit or standard merely, any multiple of which may be levied in any year as revenue requires. But a noticeable point about the continental income taxes as a whole is

that the rates are laid down once for all in the law instituting the tax.

‘(b) The taxpayers are arranged in categories, and each category is taxed at a certain percentage rate, the rate rising with each category* till the limit of progression is reached. Under this system the categories are few in number; and, as within the limits of each category the charge rises proportionally only, and a progressive rise only occurs at a few specified points, the progression appears to be less evenly diffused over the whole range of incomes. The chief examples of this method are found among the Swiss cantons, e.g. Uri, Appenzell (Rhodes Extérieures), Vaud (with seven categories), Bâle-ville, and Lucerne (with three categories); Denmark (with thirteen categories) is another instance of it. A variation of this system is that existing in some Swiss cantons such as Bâle-ville, where each portion of the income is taxed only at the rate applicable to it, the first 4000 fr. at 1 %, the next 4000 fr. at 2 %, and so on. This has the effect of further diffusing the progression.

‘(c) Other varieties which may be grouped under one head are those in which a scale of progression is based upon, or combined with, the partial exemption of income from taxation technically known as “abatement.” Scandinavia and Holland are the chief examples under this head. In Norway and Holland the system depends on abatement combined with a fixed percentage rate of tax up to a certain limit, portions of income beyond that limit being taxed at a higher rate or rates. This insures stronger progression in the lower grades. In Baden, where the system is similar, the progressive rates apply to the whole of the income and not merely to the portions above the specified limits. In Denmark abatement is combined with percentage progression. An example of the manner in which exemption or abatement is utilised to transform a proportional into a progressive rate is afforded by the system in force in the canton of Neuchâtel. The rate of the tax is fixed at 1·20 %; but, as a sum of 600 fr. is allowed to be deducted from every taxable income, the rate varies from say, 0·30 % on an income of 800 fr., to 0·48 % on one of 1000 fr., 1·13 % on an income of 10,000 fr., and so on until, when an income of 400,000 fr. is reached, the full 1·20 % rate is practically charged. Zurich, among others, affords a somewhat similar example of “abatement.”’ (Cd. 2587, p. vi.)

The exemption of a certain minimum income (the ‘minimum of subsistence’) is recognised in most fiscal

systems. The limit of exemption for income tax purposes is fixed:

	£	s.	d.	
In Prussia at	45	0	0	per annum.
In Austria at	50	0	0	"
In Holland at	54	0	0	"
In Norway at	18	0	0	"
In Sweden at	24	5	0	"
	33	0	0	"
In Denmark (according to locality) at	39	0	0	"
	44	0	0	"
In Italy at	16	0	0	"
In Spain (for private individuals) at	45	0	0	"
And (for State employés) at	31	0	0	"

In Switzerland the limit varies from 41*l.* in Thurgau to 48*l.* in Bâle-ville. In the smaller German States the limit is very low; in Saxe-Gotha and Lippe-Detmold 15*l.*, in Schaumburg-Lippe, 17*l.* 10*s.*, in Saxe-Altenburg 3*l.* Exemptions may also be made in favour of State, municipal, commercial or charitable institutions; reigning sovereigns, and members of a royal family; foreign representatives; naval, military, or other servants of the State; and domestic servants. The canton of Fribourg exempts 'agriculturists, painters, engravers, sculptors, midwives'; and eight other cantons provide exemptions in varying degrees for heads of families with children or other dependents to support. Abatement is used in certain income-tax systems either to produce a progressive scale or in combination with it.

Italy effects a partial graduation by means of abatement. By a scale applying to certain incomes under 32*l.* the pressure of the tax is mitigated, and a progressive scale established for very small incomes; but incomes derived from the State and from invested capital are excluded from its operation.* The method of assessment is largely at the source of the income. The system exempts 6,500,000*l.* of net assessed income out of a total of 96,000,000*l.* In Spain there is no abatement system, but there is graduation in the scale applying to the salaries and pensions of State officials, to the pay of officers of the army and navy, and to the salaries of officials of provincial assemblies and corporations.

Abatements are common in income taxes of the

* Report from Italy, Cd. 2587, p. 128.

German type in combination with regular graduated scales. In Prussia a certain reduction of the tax is made on incomes under 150*l.* per annum for each child under fourteen, and on incomes under 475*l.* for continuous illness, debts, or special misfortune, maintenance of poor relations, etc.* Abatements also affect incomes in Austria up to the limit of 4167*l.* 10*s.* per annum; and Württemberg allows abatement on incomes from business under 250*l.* per annum. In Norway there are provisions for abatement according to the number of persons dependent on a taxpayer. In Denmark an abatement is allowed for each child under fifteen, also on account of sickness, family troubles, and military service.

Some of the rates of graduation in force may be briefly mentioned. In Prussia the rate commences at 0·67 % on 45*l.* It rises gradually to 1 % on 60*l.*, 2 % on 150*l.*, 3 % on 500*l.*, and reaches the maximum of 4 % at incomes exceeding 5000*l.* In Saxony the rate commences at 0·25 % on 20*l.* It rises gradually to 1 % on 50*l.*, 2 % on 140*l.*, 3 % on about 260*l.*, 4 % on about 1600*l.*, and reaches the maximum of 5 % at incomes of 5000*l.* and over. In Austria the rate commences at 0·6 % on 52*l.* It rises gradually to 1 % on 100*l.*, 2 % on 300*l.*, 3 % on about 1000*l.*, 4 % on about 4000*l.* The maximum of nearly 5 % is reached only for very large incomes. In Sweden the rate commences at 0·2 % on about 55*l.* It thence increases gradually to 1 % on about 277*l.*, 2 % on about 1417*l.*, 3 % on about 3666, and reaches the maximum of 4 % on an income of about 8083*l.* But there is a 'general supply' tax which levies 1 % on incomes assessed to the income tax. In Denmark the rate commences at 1·3 % on about 39*l.* It then rises in seven stages to 2 % on incomes of from 833*l.* to 1110*l.*, and reaches the maximum of 2½ % in five further stages for incomes of 5500*l.* and over.

In all these States the progression is a gradual one, on an average ranging from about 0·6 % on a labourer's income to a maximum of 4 or 5 % (say 10*d.* or 1*s.* in the £) on incomes of the richest classes. In Hamburg the maximum has in some recent years reached 6 %, while in Baden the maximum is only 3½ %. The progression is most rapid in the early stages; a rate of 1 % or 1½ % is

* Prussian Report, Cd. 2587, p. 2.

usually reached for an income of 100*l.* An income of 200*l.* pays on the average nearly 2 %, say 4½*d.* in the pound; after the 2 % rate is passed the progression becomes slower. In Prussia an income of 500*l.* pays 3 %; and the maximum of 4 % is only reached at incomes exceeding 5000*l.* The rate for the largest income is at the most about twice as high as that on 500*l.*, and usually not more than one-third higher.

In Bavaria the 'unearned income tax' rate starts at 1½ % on 3*l.* 10*s.*, it rises at 5*l.* to 2 %, at 20*l.* to 2½ %, at 35*l.* to 3 %, at 50*l.* to 3½ %, at 150*l.* to 3¾ %, and at 5000*l.* to the maximum of 4 %. The 'earned income tax' rate commences at 0.1 % on 25*l.* It thence rises gradually to 1 % on about 100*l.*, 2 % on about 1600*l.*, 3 % on about 3000*l.*, and reaches the maximum of 4 % at incomes of 10,000*l.* and over. In the graduation of the unearned income taxes Holland adopts the same principle as that for the earned income tax, but imposes a higher rate. The rate in Holland resembles that in Bavaria, except in the case of the highest incomes, where the Bavarian tax becomes nearly 1 % greater.

In Switzerland there are a number of income taxes and a great variety of systems in force in the different cantons; and generally the graduation or progression adopted is more marked than in the countries already referred to. Except in Bâle-ville, an income of 40*l.* (1000 fr.) is liable to tax, but the rate is usually very low. From 40*l.* to about 400*l.* (10,000 fr.) there is generally a rapid progression; afterwards the graduation becomes slower till the maximum is reached. This takes place at various points in the several cantons; but in every case, if it is not reached at 4000*l.* (100,000 fr.), the subsequent progression is slight.

Differentiation is effected in various ways in the several countries, as, for instance, (1) by combination with an income tax of a tax on capital or property, the whole income being first taxed under the income tax and a further additional tax (called in Germany *Ergänzungssteuer*, or supplementary tax) being imposed on certain selected sources of income, land being in many cases exempted as being subject to a land tax. Under this system of differentiation the best examples are found in Prussia, Saxony, and Württemberg, where, however, it is

a tax on the income from property, not on property itself; and in some Swiss cantons, such as Solothurn, Tessin, Bâle-campagne, and Bâle-ville. In the cases of the Swiss cantons the property tax is, like the income tax, on a graduated scale; but the German supplementary taxes on property are not graduated. Or (2) by means of separate taxes, one affecting industrial or earned income alone, and the other affecting property alone, equivalent to a tax on unearned income. Bavaria is the only State in which this latter tax takes the form of a (graduated) tax on income. The most important example is the combined property and income tax of Holland, which is due to an eminent Dutch economist, Dr Pierson, Minister of Finance. Or (3) by the taxation, within the limits of an income tax itself, of income derived from different sources at different rates. The only examples of this method in Europe are those afforded by the income taxes on personalty in Italy and Spain.

The following is an analysis of the effect of differentiation as shown by the rates in force in some of the various States. Prussia, Saxony, Württemberg, and Denmark impose a graduated income tax together with a supplementary tax at a fixed rate. The rate of this tax in Prussia and Saxony is equivalent (at 4 % interest on capital) to $1\frac{1}{4}$ % on the taxable earned income. In Württemberg it is 2 %. In Denmark it is equivalent to $1\frac{1}{2}$ %. The rate of the supplementary tax being fixed while the income tax is graduated, the extent of the differentiation varies with the amount of the income. Thus in Prussia an earned income of 56*l.* pays 0.67 %; an unearned income pays in all 1.92 %, the latter rate being nearly three times the former. An earned income of 150*l.* pays 2 %; an unearned pays in all 3.25 %, the latter rate being about 1.6 times the former. An earned income of 500*l.* pays 3 %; an unearned pays in all 4.25 %, the latter rate being 1.4 times the former. An earned income of 5000*l.* pays 4 %; an unearned pays in all 5.25 %, the latter rate being only 1.3 times the former.

In Denmark an unearned income of from 166*l.* to 222*l.* is taxed twice as heavily as an earned income of that amount. For lower incomes (down to the limit of exemption) the differentiation is slightly greater; for higher

incomes it becomes less, the rate of an unearned income of 5550*l.* or over being only 1.6 times the rate for a corresponding earned income. In Holland the rate for a pure industrial income is less than that for a pure unearned income of the same amount in a fixed proportion of (approximately) 3 to 5. For mixed incomes, derived partly from labour and partly from property, there is a special arrangement, the earned proportion of it being taxed more heavily than a pure earned income of the same amount unaccompanied by income from property.

In Italy differentiation is effected by classifying incomes in five categories, according to their source. The two highest, consisting of different forms of unearned income, are taxed at 20 % and 15 % respectively; the third, of mixed incomes, at 10 %; the fourth, of income from labour alone, is taxed at 9 %; and the fifth, of salaries, allowances, and pensions paid by the State, provinces or communes, at 7½ %. M. René Stourm * refers to the amount and growth of the tax collected by 'retention,' compared to that collected by 'register' and by 'declarations,' as a proof of the laxity of administration and facilities for evasion prevailing in the last-named class, and suggests that the State has endeavoured, by raising the maximum rate from 8 % in 1866 to 13.20 % in 1870 and to 20 % in 1894, to recoup itself on incomes as to which evasion is impossible for the 'dissimulation' practised in other classes, thus accentuating the difficulty as regards the latter. The Spanish tax is more complicated and less scientifically differentiated. In Spain the scale of taxation on property is as a rule lower than that on personal exertion. Unearned incomes and mixed incomes are taxed at rates varying from 20 % down to ½ %; the earned salaries and pensions of State officials and of generals in the army are taxed at the high rates of 20 % and 18 %; but relief is afforded for smaller incomes of this class by graduation, and the graduation is such that the poorest incomes of the class (30*l.* to 45*l.*) pay only 2 % instead of the full rates just mentioned. Incomes earned from commercial or other civil occupations are taxed at one of two rates—10 % and 5 %. The tax on the 'exercise of industrial, commercial, and professional enterprise,' based

* 'Systèmes généraux d'Impôts,' pp. 160-165.

on the character of the business and the population of the locality in which it is carried on, is analogous to the French 'Loi des Patentes.' It is an 'industry' tax, not an income tax, and produces a revenue equal to about one-third of that produced by the 'income' tax. The Report does not enable us to judge of its operation as a differentiating factor, or to say whether the persons subject to it are taxed at higher or lower rates than those subject to the 'income' tax.

In effect, then, we see that in other countries both graduation and differentiation are employed. Thus the Select Committee has good reason for saying that both are 'practicable.' But it is to be remembered that the continental taxes on income are permanent and non-expansive, whereas our income tax has always been regarded, in theory at any rate, as a war or emergency tax. If it is to become an integral part of our fiscal system we shall have to revise the theory. And, if the income-tax-payer is to bear the burden of war, it is both just and expedient that his contributions in peace-time should be adjusted to his ability to pay.

In the most perfect form of civilised society direct taxation is the ideal method by which each individual should contribute his quota to the maintenance of the State. In effect, taxation is payment for services rendered by the State to each and every individual member of it; and in theory each citizen should contribute according to his means, not according to his appetite for commodities upon which taxes may be imposed. But then the initial difficulty remains of gauging the ability of the contributors. A man's ability to meet a general or particular assessment cannot be measured merely by his income, because the income may in some cases be procurable only by a scale of expenditure which in other cases is unnecessary. A professional man whose income depends largely if not mainly on his social position and reputation is called upon to expend more on what is for him 'decent and comfortable maintenance' than a tradesman earning the same or even a larger income. And a professional man's income disappears when his health fails or death occurs, whereas a tradesman's business can go on even when he is personally laid aside.

Graduation of income tax has had many supporters in parliament; but the Inland Revenue department has consistently held that a graduated tax, even if desirable, is impracticable. The official view is that we must maintain existing arrangements under which profits are taxed at their source; and that there would be much risk in establishing a new system under which each individual would give a full return of his income from all sources and would be directly taxed according to a graduated scale upon the total amount. A corporate tax has been suggested on all trading companies, to be levied on total profits at a small rate, as a payment for the privileges of corporate trading with limited liability. It would give effect to the principle of 'differentiation' in being an extra tax on interest from investments, but it would also be a tax on thrift.

The present incidence of the income tax is defended on the ground that considerations of equity are satisfied by the exemption of income sufficient for a 'decent and comfortable maintenance.' But considerations of equity would be more fully satisfied if no incomes were exempted—at any rate none above, say, 100*l.* a year—because, if all were taxed, the poundage or percentage of income would be reduced to a rate that would be onerous on none; and also because what is necessary for 'decent and comfortable maintenance' differs more with conditions of life and with social and professional environment than with income. It may be admitted that the British method of administering the tax is as little inquisitorial as can be; but, on the other hand, it may be contended that our system does afford an opportunity for, if not an incentive to, fraud. Moreover, it is not equitable, in that it does not apply to all classes who earn more than sufficient for 'decent and comfortable maintenance'; nor will it be equitable until it is levied at the source on the salaries or wages of all persons who earn, say 2*l.* per week upwards. There are thousands of operatives in this country who earn 3*l.*, 4*l.*, to 5*l.* per week, hundreds who earn from 6*l.* to 15*l.* per week; and only a small proportion of these are assessed for income tax; yet, if the tax were levied on all and deducted from the wages 'at the source' it would be onerous on none of them.

As to actual examples of graduation, the United States

income-tax law of 1863-71 exempted all incomes under \$600; and the limit of exemption was afterwards raised to \$1000 and then to \$2000. But, while the rate of the tax was 5% for incomes up to \$5000, it rose to 7 % for incomes from \$5000 to \$10,000, and to 10 % for incomes over \$10,000. Sir Henry Primrose, chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, stated to the Select Committee his opinion that the balance of advantage was in favour of graduation. By the system of abatements a scheme of graduation was produced up to the limit of 700*l.* a year. The result of graduation in the colonies was little beyond what was arrived at here from the system of abatement, the object in each case being to relieve the smaller incomes. He estimated that the total number of income-tax-payers in this country was 1,000,000, of whom 750,000 had incomes below 700*l.* He thought the minimum estimate of the number with incomes of 5000*l.* a year and over would be 7500, and the maximum 10,000. Taking the higher figure, he calculated that there were 250 persons who were paying on 40,000*l.* or more a year. Their income he estimated at 20,000,000*l.* Of incomes between 20,000*l.* and 40,000*l.* there were probably 750 averaging 28,000*l.*, their total income being 21,000,000*l.* Of incomes between 10,000*l.* and 20,000*l.* he calculated there were 2500, averaging 14,000*l.* and amounting in the total to 35,000,000*l.* Between 5000*l.* and 10,000*l.* there would be 6500, which on an average of 7000*l.* gave 45,000,000*l.* He estimated that thus there would be a grand total of 121,000,000*l.* for 10,000 people with incomes over 5000*l.* a year. The incomes between 700*l.* and 5000*l.* totalled 307,000,000*l.* Taking the class above 5000*l.*, the produce of an increased graduated tax of 3*d.*, 6*d.*, 9*d.*, and 1*s.* would be 3,250,000*l.* Special machinery would have to be devised under a system of graduation. With regard to differentiation, he considered that the death duties had lessened the arguments in favour of it. It was calculated that the death duties represent 1*s.* on the income. (Report 365, pp. 5-8.) If the graduated rate became so high as to be resented there would be a danger of encouraging investments in foreign enterprises in such a way as not to come within the compass of the income tax. In connexion with this evidence it is desirable to take the latest classified return of the Inland Revenue department.

INCOME TAX RECEIPTS, 1904-5.*

Schedule (A) .	(In respect of the profits from the ownership of lands, tenements, etc.) (Deductions of one eighth in respect of lands, and one sixth in respect of houses allowed for repairs. <i>Vide</i> Finance Act, 1894.)	1s. in the £	£	Gross. £	s.	d.	Net Receipts. £	s.	d.
Schedule (B) .	(In respect of the profits derived from the occupation of lands, etc.)	" "	157,006,080	4,205,124	34,000,754	14 13	31,204,751	0 8½	
Schedule (C) .	(In respect of the profits derived from interest, annuities, and dividends payable out of any public revenue, etc.)	" "	41,357,050						
Schedule (D) .	(In respect of the profits derived from professions, trades, employments, etc.)	" "	365,234,308						
Schedule (E) .	(In respect of salaries, etc., of public officials and officers of corporate bodies.)	" "	50,835,535						

Note.—Assessments are those for the year ended 5th April 1905, the latest year for which figures are available. On one third of the annual value of lands, but the 'profits' of nurseries and market gardens are estimated according to the rules of Schedule (D).

Abatements are allowed as under-stated, viz. :—

160l. on incomes not exceeding 400l.
150l. " " exceeding 400l. and not exceeding 500l.
120l. " " 500l. 600l.
70l. " " 600l. 700l.
" " " 700l.

* Commons Paper 253 (1906). 'Taxes and Imposts' return to House of Commons.

As the advocate of a graduated income tax, Mr S. T. Evans, M.P., before Mr Asquith introduced his last Budget, submitted to the House of Commons the proposition that it is just and expedient for provision to be made : (a) for graduating the income tax so as to adjust the tax in fair proportions between the smaller and larger incomes now taxable ; and (b) for differentiating the tax to be borne by earned as distinguished from unearned incomes. At present the exemption of all incomes under 160*l.* initiates the process of graduation ; and the abatement of 160*l.* upon all incomes under 400*l.*, of 150*l.* on incomes between 400*l.* and 500*l.*, of 120*l.* between 500*l.* and 600*l.*, and of 70*l.* between 600*l.* and 700*l.*, continues it. This indirect fashion of graduating the impost is illogical and unsatisfactory. Those who protest against any form of graduation may, however, be unaware that Pitt, Peel, and Gladstone adopted it. When Pitt introduced the modern system of income tax in 1799, a graduated impost was, as we have seen, placed upon all incomes of over 60*l.* a year ; and four years later, while 5% was levied on incomes over 150*l.*, lower rates were placed upon those under that sum. The tax was dropped after the French war ; but, when it was revived by Sir Robert Peel in 1842, the principle of exemption was established by the omission of incomes under 150*l.* Later Mr Gladstone annexed incomes of 100*l.*, but differentiated the smaller from the larger by levying only 5*d.* upon those between 100*l.* and 150*l.* and 7*d.* on those above 150*l.* He adhered to this principle during the Crimean War, when the tax was doubled. Although in 1858 the rate was equalised, graduation was revived next year ; and it was not until 1863 that equality was restored, but tempered by exemption. If, therefore, the idea of spreading the pressure over those best able to bear it is carried further in the coming Budget, Mr Asquith will be able to quote precedents.

The conclusions of the last Select Committee are :

‘1. Graduation of the income tax by an extension of the existing system of abatements is practicable. But it could not be applied to all incomes, from the highest to the lowest, with satisfactory results. The limits of prudent extension would be reached when a large increase in the rate of tax to be collected at the source was necessitated, and the total amount which was collected in excess of what was ultimately

retained became so large as to cause serious inconvenience to trade and commerce and to individual taxpayers. Those limits would not be exceeded by raising the amount of income on which an abatement would be allowed to 1000*l.* or even more.

'2. Graduation by a super-tax is practicable. If it be desired to levy a much higher rate of tax upon large incomes (say of 5000*l.* and upwards) than has hitherto been charged, a super-tax based on personal declaration would be a practicable method.

'3. Abandonment of the system of "collection at the source," and adoption of the principle of direct personal assessment of the whole of each person's income would be inexpedient.

'4. Differentiation between earned and unearned incomes is practicable, especially if it be limited to earned incomes not exceeding 3000*l.* a year, and effect be given to it by charging a lower rate of tax upon them.

'5. A compulsory personal declaration from each individual of total net income in respect of which tax is payable is expedient and would do much to prevent the evasion and avoidance of income tax which at present prevail' (365, pp. viii and ix).

The income-tax-payers who are, according to this Report, to receive the first consideration, are those with incomes of less than 1000*l.* per annum; and abatements, which are now confined to incomes of less than 700*l.*, are to be extended to incomes of less than 1000*l.* per annum. But consideration is offered to the professional and salaried classes and smaller tradesmen whose incomes from labour do not exceed 3000*l.* a year. Those who complain of the inequalities of the income tax as between incomes from investment and incomes from labour, practically advocate differentiation. The recipients of an earned income may be satisfied with what the Select Committee offer, namely, taxation upon a lower basis than that payable by the recipients of spontaneous income, even though the worker's income be only preferentially treated to the extent of 2000*l.* or 3000*l.* per annum. The recipients of moderate incomes may also welcome the recommendation that abatements be granted on all incomes up to 1000*l.* per annum, and possibly on incomes of even greater amount. The Committee are certainly right as to 'taxation at source.' Were this abolished, a great reduction

of national revenue would ensue; and this reduction would not benefit the nation, because it would be obtained largely by fraudulent returns, and by sins of omission as well as commission. To revert to the method of direct assessment which obtained until 1801 would probably also be to revert to the smaller percentage yield of that period. After the introduction of taxation at source in 1803 the yield per unit in two years nearly doubled. Graduation by super-taxation is no doubt 'practicable'; but the introduction of it would make the income tax far more inquisitorial and so increase the expense of collection as probably to extinguish any pecuniary advantage.

The Labour party has lost no time in pressing upon the Government the demand for a scheme of old-age pensions; and the Prime Minister is in entire sympathy with their object. Mr Asquith, however, refrains from holding out any promise until he sees where the money is to come from. The Government is pledged to effect a reduction in the expenditure for armaments; but the coal tax is abolished, and Liberal policy demands the free breakfast table. National education and the liquidation of national debt will require more money; so all the saving we are likely to make in military outlay is fully bespoken. Labour men and others have contended that the first business of the Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer, in dealing with the income tax, is not to diminish the amount of revenue derived from it, but to graduate the tax and bring substantial relief to men of small incomes at the cost of their wealthier brethren. If, however, the tax is to be graduated, it should be so under better ethical and economic principles than this demand implies.

In their Report the Select Committee say:

'27. If the death duties be regarded as a tax upon the person who succeeds to the estate, and a calculation be made to show what rate of income tax payable by him during his life upon the interest of his capital would be the equivalent of the lump sum which is taken out of the estate before he inherits it, Sir Henry Primrose considers that, on estates yielding an income of from 40*l.* to 400*l.* a year, the estate duties are equivalent to an income tax of 9*d.* in the *£* per annum during the life of the inheritor; on estates yielding an income of 4000*l.* to 6000*l.* a year, of 1*s.* 6*d.* in the *£*; and on estates yielding an income of 40,000*l.* a year and upwards, of 2*s.* in the *£*.

'28. These calculations are based on the estate duties alone. But the legacy and succession duties, which together with the estate duties make up what are usually known as the death duties, yield a further 3,500,000*l.* to 4,000,000*l.* a year in addition to the estate duties. As the greater part of the legacy and succession duties falls on the larger estates, the total death duties not only represent a larger annual income tax than that which is the equivalent of the estate duties alone, but they also represent a larger proportionate income tax upon the incomes from the larger estates.

'29. These conclusions clearly show that, if the income tax and the death duties be regarded together as a form of income tax, there is already a very substantial graduation of taxation on incomes derived from large estates, and differentiation between large incomes derived from personal exertion and those derived from inherited property' (365, p. viii).

But the Committee confess that they have not been able to provide a completely logical and satisfactory definition of what constitutes an 'earned' as distinguished from an 'unearned' income. And, because they are unable to submit any scheme of differentiation that is capable of general application, they suggest that differentiation should be limited to incomes not exceeding 3000*l.*, with reductions on earned incomes under that limit, subject to an application by the person seeking relief on making a declaration of his total net income. But this does not solve the problem. Further, the imposition of a super-tax on large incomes would involve direct personal assessment of the whole of each person's income, and render necessary a compulsory personal declaration by every taxpayer of his total net income. To extract such returns from every one would not only be very troublesome and expensive but would bring the tax into the greatest odium. The alternative plan of asking returns only from those whom the Surveyors of Taxes believe to be in the receipt of incomes over 5000*l.* a year would be to place too much power both for oppression and for favouritism in the hands of the permanent officials. A super-tax, which seems to the Committee so easy a way out of their difficulty, is a very dangerous instrument. If the income tax is preserved as a permanent form of revenue, the super-tax would ultimately become the war tax to be paid by the rich, or at all

events by those with incomes exceeding, say, 5000*l*. This would be class taxation, and moreover taxation of a class which is already heavily taxed on capital through the death duties. It is just that the rich should pay according to their means, but let us not pretend that they alone should bear the burden of any extra taxation called for by the military necessities of the nation.

Whether there is a balance of opinion in favour of graduation of the tax or not, need not now be discussed, because the tax is graduated at present under the exemption and abatement system. But graduation by abatement—at any rate, above the level of a living wage—is not a satisfactory form of graduation; and there is little doubt that it allows many to escape payment who are quite able to pay. Instead of raising the limit of abatement, we should be disposed to abandon it altogether, and to tax all incomes from whatever source at one fixed rate from, say 150*l*. up to 1000*l*., with a slightly higher rate for larger incomes, if found desirable for revenue. The object should be so to distribute the imposition as to reduce the percentages to an amount which would not be onerous to recipients of the smaller incomes. But, in order to secure this, the multitude of small incomes that now escape altogether should be impounded. Against the imposition of income tax upon weekly wages there is, of course, the old-standing orthodox argument against the taxation of labour. But that argument is not applicable to cases where the reward of labour reaches the level of the reward of trading or professional occupations. If all who earn less than is deemed necessary for maintenance are to be exempted from taxation, as is just, then all who earn more than the fixed minimum should be taxed, whether their incomes are derived from trades or professions, or from annual salaries or weekly wages. To be just, the income tax should be paid by all classes; and, until that is done, no method either of graduation or differentiation can be perfectly equitable.

BENJAMIN TAYLOR.

Art. III.—NEWMAN AND MANNING.

1. *Life of Cardinal Manning.* By Edmund Sheridan Purcell. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1895.
2. *Newman.* By William Barry. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904.
3. *Newman. Essai de Biographie Psychologique.* By Henri Brémond. Paris: Librairie Bloud, 1905.
4. *Newman, Pascal, Loisy, and the Catholic Church.* By W. J. Williams. London: Griffiths, 1906.
5. *La Renaissance Catholique en Angleterre au XIX^e Siècle* (Troisième Partie). By Paul Thureau-Dangin. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1906.
6. *La Pensée Catholique dans l'Angleterre Contemporaine.* Par Ernest Dimnet. Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1906.

TEN years ago Mr Purcell's work, the 'Life of Cardinal Manning,' aroused among many Englishmen considerable curiosity in connexion with the personal characteristics of the two remarkable men—Cardinals Manning and Newman—whose human weaknesses, displayed at a moment of acute dissension, it somewhat rudely unveiled. There was some scandal, as though saints had been stripped of their aureoles. But probably most candid critics recognised that if a man's confidential documents get into the hands of a biographer who wishes to make a sensation and is not sensitive as to the fair fame of his subject, there are few great men who would not be similarly belittled in the eyes of the public; for the public is thus placed in the position of the proverbial *valet de chambre*. Show us Tennyson or Gladstone 'in their shirt-sleeves'; take biographical 'snapshots' of them in their most undignified mental or moral attitudes; photograph their moments of ill-temper (which may be due to indigestion) or of exaggerated resentment (which a night's rest probably reduced to reasonable proportions); or preserve in a phonograph a momentary expression betokening vanity or undue egotism, with no clue to the provocation which called it out; and you have the materials for a false and unworthy picture, even though it be made up of true facts. Be this as it may, the curtain was raised; gossip was let loose; and people wanted to

hear more of both men—of their human failings, but also of their greater qualities.

The demand speedily produced a supply, although the supply could not bring fresh personal revelations, as the tell-tale documents had been printed and the worst had been told. In England as well as in France a considerable literature sprang up, chiefly dealing with Newman, but not passing over Manning. M. de Pressensé wrote an able *brochure* with the object of proving that Manning was the greater man of the two. A daughter of President Faure printed an eloquent tribute to Newman. Many letters of both men and much information as to their careers were contained in the 'Lives' of Wiseman and Ambrose de Lisle. Some very valuable articles, ascribed to the pen of M. Loisy, had already dealt, in the 'Revue du Clergé Français,' with Newman's essay on Development; and its argument entered largely into the theory put forth in 'L'Evangile et l'Eglise.' More recently Dr William Barry has given the world an excellent popular sketch of Newman's career; and two more French writers have occupied themselves with the same subject—the Abbé Ernest Dimnet and the Abbé Henri Brémont. 'Manning' books also have not come to an end. A new 'Life,' by Cardinal Manning's old pupil, Father Kent, based on hitherto unpublished material which had been ignored by Mr Purcell or was unknown to him, has been recently announced to be in preparation.

Meanwhile, M. Thureau-Dangin, of the French Academy, has been publishing, in three instalments, his 'Renaissance Catholique en Angleterre.' The third part has but recently appeared. It deals with the period between the death of Cardinal Wiseman in 1865 and the death of Cardinal Manning in 1892, and is a work of real importance. M. Thureau writes with the accuracy of information which marked his earlier volumes; and his book will be of great value to the English reader as well as to his compatriots. He summarises the incidents of an eventful time in a volume of comparatively brief compass. Circumstances, the significance of which is often lost in the bulky and diffuse volumes of Purcell's 'Life of Manning,' are here brought into due relief and proportion. Moreover, the author writes in a spirit of true respect and appreciation for both of the Cardinals who

are the heroes of his drama. He utilises the material brought together by Mr Purcell in giving a far truer picture of Manning than his biographer's frequently ill-natured innuendoes led some of his readers to form.

M. Thureau-Dangin has done wisely in keeping his treatment on broad historical lines, in which a Frenchman whose information is accurate may be as good a guide and narrator as an Englishman. The same cannot be said of M. Brémond's '*Biographie Psychologique*' of John Henry Newman. M. Brémond has essayed a work for which his knowledge of the English character and even of the English language is hardly sufficient. He attempts the difficult task of analysing just the subtlest traits of a very subtle personality from writings which cannot be adequately dealt with for such a purpose without a perfect knowledge of Newman's mother-tongue in its finest shades of meaning. Such a task needs, moreover, the imaginative sympathy as well as the insight of a Boswell; and some aspects of Newman's mind and character are especially difficult for a Frenchman to realise in imagination. M. Brémond is, however, deterred by no misgivings as to his own capabilities, and perseveres at great length, although so much of the real Newman is invisible to him. Newman's thoughts on the philosophy of history and of religion are apparently a sealed book to his critic. From his chapter on Newman as a historian he omits all reference to his writings on the history of dogma in the first three centuries, in which he stands in the very front rank as an authority. The book contains incidentally some clever pieces of character-drawing, seldom free, however, from unintentional caricature; but, taken as a whole, in its persevering and somewhat perverse ingenuity, it resembles another book on Newman (which few Englishmen have read, but which M. Brémond takes very seriously), written by Newman's avowed theological opponent, Dr Edwin Abbott.

We should recommend as an antidote to M. Brémond's work the very remarkable study of Newman contained in Mr Williams' recent book on 'Newman, Pascal, Loisy, and the Catholic Church'—the best appreciation of Newman's more serious work which we have yet seen. The writer is a genuine thinker, and gives us the outcome of the laborious thought and reading of twenty years. His

book deserves fuller treatment than we can here accord to it.

We propose in this article to deal mainly with the ground covered by the recently published volume of M. Thureau-Dangin. The events he narrates are in the memory of many of us; and it may be worth while to put down some of the reflections and recollections aroused by the perusal of the thirty years' record.

Those for whom the great representatives of the Church of Rome have special fascination in the scene of the world's drama often wish that they had lived in the days of Bossuet and Fénelon. We think that to have lived in the days of Newman and Manning is, from this point of view, equally interesting. In the mere appeal to the senses, as well as in the deeper qualities of character and intellectual force, it would be hard for a dramatist to create two more striking figures. In the merely external drama of life the figure of Manning as Cardinal was perhaps the most impressive ecclesiastical figure known to his generation, almost perfect in its own kind. The stately presence, the handsome, refined, and ascetic features, the piercing eye, the unfailing personal dignity, the happy ease in his intercourse with his fellows—these were his most superficial gifts. Then again, the power of ready speech, and the extraordinary facility of extempore exposition, the stately and eloquent, though not impassioned or poetical, delivery of sermon or oration, in their kind also approached perfection. And withal there was apparent in his speech and demeanour a mystic sense of representing God's Church on earth, the look as of one who saw a vision, which added something of the aspect of prophet or seer—just that something required to complete the ideal presence of the great churchman.

A public man must necessarily think of effect on the public mind; and one who lives before the general gaze incurs something of the same running fire of criticism which a schoolmaster receives at the hands of his boys. Manning was the recipient of his full share of such scrutiny; and captious critics used to recall, as applying to some of his impressive addresses, Carlyle's saying on his own lectures—that they were a 'mixture of prophesying and play-acting.' But it was the greatest tribute to

Manning's personality and character that, even with such criticisms in his hearers' minds, and even allowing for a grain of truth in them, the impressive effect of his addresses was nevertheless irresistible at the moment. The deep earnestness on behalf of a cause held by him to be sacred, the felt spirituality of the man, who was known to lead an ideal priestly life, the superb, if superficial, intellectual gifts, and equally superb use he made of them, allied with the manner and appearance of the 'sacerdos magnus,' seldom failed to convey the sense of greatness of a certain kind; and even oracular utterances in conversation, which Mr Purcell tries to make us smile at in the retrospect, produced their effect at the time in virtue of the personality of the speaker.

Roman Catholicism in England owes much to Manning. It received from him all that can be gained from a gifted spokesman, a high character, in many ways singularly unworldly, an ascetic life, an indomitable will exercised in the interests of his Church, an unrivalled power of attaining the objects on which he had fixed his mind for the advance of the Roman Catholic cause in England. He worked untiringly and successfully for the Roman Catholic schools; he won from the Government important concessions towards the free exercise of their religion by Catholics in workhouses, in industrial schools, in the army and navy. For seven and twenty years English Catholics had in him, as their official spokesman, one of the most commanding figures in the country. Their cause was pleaded with dignity, eloquence, and a power of persuasion fully equal to the prestige of the speaker. His intense belief in and devotion to his Church, and his readiness to champion its claims even where they were unpalatable to his fellow-countrymen, ultimately won the respect of the bulk of Englishmen, and greatly diminished the national prejudice against his co-religionists. Moreover, this remarkable figure in public life was also endowed with an unusual gift of priestly sympathy as a director of souls, and as an occasional counsellor. His example and his precept, on the priestly vocation, embodied one of the most attractive and distinctive ideals of Roman Catholicism. He had caught here something of the spirit of St Francis de Sales and of St Charles Borromeo, under whose patronage

he founded his congregation of 'Oblate Fathers.' Let those of the present generation who would realise for themselves this quality in him find its reflection in some of the pages of his work on the 'Eternal Priesthood.'

Yet the historian who attempts to estimate his policy, as well as his virtues and powers, will ask why one who did so much did not do more. The hopes prevalent among Roman Catholics in 1845 and 1850—hopes of a vast increase in the influence of their Church in this country—have certainly not been realised. The historian will note the significant utterances of Manning's later life as to the reasons why the Roman Church had not gained more influence in England; and he will examine how far the actions of this remarkable man himself in the days of his prime tended to diminish or to increase the causes of failure which he himself ultimately recognised. The time is come when such an investigation may be made with all respect for a character as to whose earnest devotedness there can be no question. And we desire to do it with the utmost sympathy for his aims, and waiving, so far as possible, the consideration of their intrinsic desirableness from our own point of view.

Let us then, for a moment, consider some features in his larger policy as archbishop. Let us consider his attempts to solve those problems which needed not merely strenuous will and skill in attaining predetermined ends, but true perception, from his standpoint as the leader of Roman Catholics in England, as to the needs of the hour, in order to determine the ends themselves. No crusader ever uttered his 'God wills it' with greater conviction than did Manning during the years of his prime in his successive projects for the Roman Church in England. His first object was the creation of an effective body of priests. The clergy ought, he urged, to be Roman in spirit; insular and English sympathies were to be crushed; the type exhibited in the Italian or French seminaries was to be reproduced in England, with no infusion of the literary, cultured ideal of Anglican Oxford. Each bishop was to have his future priests around him; and by means of this direct episcopal influence the new and ideal clergy was to be formed. This was, he held, in accordance with the mind of the Council of Trent. It was part of the divine plan for the Catholic Church. Not

only Anglican ideals, but the Cisalpine tendencies of the hereditary Catholics were suspect. St Edmund's College, in Hertfordshire—the lineal descendant of old Douay College, founded by Cardinal Allen in the sixteenth century—was supposed still to embody this semi-Gallican, or at least non-Roman, tendency. The divinity students were therefore, in 1869, suddenly removed from the college by a *coup d'état* to which all laws of worldly prudence seemed opposed. A new ecclesiastical seminary was forthwith founded at Hammersmith. All this was carried through by the masterful will of the archbishop in opposition to the views of the most experienced priests. It mattered not. It was part of what was regarded in those days, by a section of the Oxford converts and their disciples, as the inspiring crusade of the time—the rooting-out of the old-fashioned English Catholic traditions, then regarded as far too deferential to the prejudices of the surrounding Protestant world, and the formation of a new spirit, Roman, ascetic, unworldly, uncompromising, which should pay no heed to the opinion of a civilisation gradually ceasing to be Christian.

If earnestness and a high ideal could dispense with knowledge of human nature and the prudent forecast of probabilities, and the accurate estimate of existing tendencies, all would have been well. In point of fact we are left to chronicle the acknowledged failure of much that was achieved. Many consider that the old Douay type of priest, at that time surviving and long respected in Ireland, still to be found at Ushaw (the co-heir, with St Edmund's, of Douay College), might well have been developed in the direction which Manning desired, while retaining at the same time that English character which made it practicable for our countrymen. The type was the outcome, largely, of experience, and had shown that it could wear. The asceticism and Catholic zeal of a Challoner or a Milner could vie with that of any of the foreign models held up by Manning for imitation; yet Milner and Challoner were products of the old system. Such developments seemed to many to promise more of success and stability than the transplantation of foreign habits. Be this as it may, the experiment was not tried. The old ideal was displaced; and it can hardly be said that the new was realised at Hammersmith,

The divinity students are now again at St Edmund's; and the memory of the Hammersmith scheme is, with most of those who care for such matters, that of a serious injury done to the interests of ecclesiastical education. Many who feel this do not withdraw their respect for the ideal which inspired the promoters of the new movement. Still statesmanship, even ecclesiastical, must be judged by results; and so judged, the effort stands in great measure condemned.

So much for the formation and education of the clergy. What of the laity? Cardinal Wiseman, Manning's predecessor, had dreamt fondly of the time when the growth of a liberal spirit in Oxford and Cambridge should open to Roman Catholics the old universities. The time came; but Manning, whose influence with Wiseman had become paramount, had by that time adopted here also a policy of the pursuit of absolute ideals irrespective of their practicability. For the laity, as for the clergy, he dreaded 'low views,' and the national or English type, and the spirit of 'worldliness.' The cry against 'mixed' education had been raised by Gregory XVI, and invoked for the destruction of the Queen's Colleges in Ireland. But it was capable of being applied in very different degrees, according to local circumstances. In England, where Catholics were a handful and had no university, it had been anticipated by Cardinal Wiseman that their attendance at Oxford and Cambridge would, with due precautions, be tolerated. He had written frequently in the 'Dublin Review' inveighing against the hardship of the exclusion of Catholics from the universities; and most people supposed that, when the spirit of the Emancipation Act had extended to the removal of the ban, Catholics would gladly enter them as they had entered the House of Commons. Manning decided otherwise.

The principle that 'mixed' education was evil was taken up by Manning and applied in an entirely uncompromising form. Here again he acted with the zeal and whole-heartedness of one who was carrying out a divine mission. To listen to reasons on the other side was to lend an ear to the tempter. With the same indomitable will and power of carrying through a scheme against all opposition which he had shown in founding the seminary at Hammersmith, he obtained from the Roman authori-

ties strong rescripts forbidding English Catholics to finish their education at Oxford or Cambridge. When the absence of higher education for these young men was complained of, he founded the 'Catholic University' at Kensington. Here also his action appeared to many to set at naught the laws of prudence. He placed over the new institution a man wholly unacquainted with university traditions, Mgr Capel. The two real powers among English Catholics in matters educational and intellectual were Dr Newman, at the Oratory, and the English Jesuits. Manning declined the co-operation of the Jesuits, and made no attempt to secure that of Newman. The scheme was practically still-born. A large staff of eminent professors, including F. A. Paley, St George Mivart, Barff the chemist, and others equally able, lectured to a handful of undergraduates—their numbers never much exceeded twenty. After a few years the University really ceased to exist, though, like a true Englishman, the Cardinal would not see that he was beaten; and we believe that the Catholic Directory, years later, gave the name 'Catholic University College' to the learned Dr Robert Clarke (one of the eminent group of savants who formed the original Biblical Commission in Rome) and about three pupils, who traced the same lineal descent from the Catholic University of England that the Rector of the non-existent Catholic University of Ireland, the late Dr Molloy, traced from the institution founded by Newman.

These are two salient instances of Manning's larger policy; and they illustrate his character in a remarkable way. A dominant influence in his life, which has not been duly emphasised, was a power of conviction that certain lines of policy were entrusted to him by Providence to carry out against all human wills, and as part of a great battle for the Church against the world, which he pictured in almost apocalyptic colours. Not a poet in the ordinary sense, he had a strong vein of mystical imagination in this connexion. Some genuinely beautiful chance thought as to the due relation of the 'pastor and his flock,' or the fitting attitude of a 'priest according to the order of Melchizedek' would determine his policy; and he would be absolutely inflexible in carrying it out. His very strength in execution was a consequence of the

precarious nature of the original motive—precarious, that is to say, if clear, divine guidance were not really vouchsafed. It was just because he regarded his scheme as God's will, and as outside the sphere in which human reason or prudence should be consulted, that he would not attend to symptoms of defeat or auguries of failure. Nay, defeat in the good cause was next best to victory. He had maxims which corresponded to this habit of unflinching action. To look back in an enterprise and hesitate as to its wisdom was, he said, to act like Lot's wife. The 'pillar of salt' was a warning for all time. And he would defend what appeared to be the blindest obstinacy by quoting, 'He that putteth his hand to the plough,' etc. Martyrdom for the good cause was to be welcomed. 'Stand and be shot' was the motto he used to hold up to his priests.

This attitude was in fact based on the very strong, and again mystical, sense to which we have already alluded, of a battle raging between the Church and the modern world. The wrong which most Roman Catholics held to be inflicted on the Papacy in the Piedmontese attack on the Papal States, and the forlorn condition of his beloved Pius IX, made this congenial picture intensely vivid in his mind. The general view that there was a conflict raging between the medieval and modern ideals was, of course, largely true; but in Manning it assumed a peculiarly mystical character, and it was allowed to dominate his policy in a very literal and absolute manner. Nothing could be more generous and whole-hearted than Archbishop Manning's attitude, apart from all question of its wisdom. From 1865 to 1876 he almost courted unpopularity. The 'Cordati Catholici' were a 'little band.' The world's hand was against them. They must be ready to fight against overwhelming odds and die as soldiers. British Catholics were to be trained as a body of Janissaries devoted to Rome, free from the 'low' traditions of England and Oxford. This element of almost unbridled mysticism has been, as we have said, astonishingly little dwelt upon by those who have dealt with this remarkable man's career. Yet it lies, we believe, at the very root of Manning's character. Few of his letters bring it home to a reader, in a short compass, better than one published by Mr Purcell, and written

to the late Mrs W. G. Ward, in 1865, from his 'Retreat,' under the direction of the Passionist Fathers, at Highgate, immediately after his appointment as archbishop.

'I have in these last three weeks felt as if our Lord had called me by name. Everything else has passed out of my mind. The firm belief I have long had that the Holy Father is the most supernatural person I have ever seen has given me this feeling more deeply still. I feel as if I had been brought, contrary to all human wills, by the Divine Will into an immediate relation to our Divine Lord. The effect on me is one of awe, not fear, but a conscious nearness to God and to the supernatural agencies and sufferings of His Church.

'I have long had a fixed belief that a persecution is impending over the Church. When, I cannot say, whether in our time or not. But I believe it might come any day. I pray God that I may be found in my lot at that day.

'I believe I can say that what has come upon me has not raised my pulse one beat; that it has given me no joy or personal gratification. I have lived long for work and little else, and I look upon this as so much work. It has brought me some sadness, for I must lose for ever much of the happiness of a pastor's life, and nearly all my peace and rest. If anything has consoled me, it is the feeling that, if the Vicar of our Lord trusts me, our Lord does not distrust me. And, if He has not lifted me up for my greater reprobation, He has chosen me to do Him some service in the few years of my time, whether by life or by death. I feel great joy in the hope that our Lord does not distrust me; and, after all this gall and vinegar I have had to drink, this thought is unutterably sweet.'

We may trace a striking resemblance both in gifts and in limitations between Henry Edward Manning and another remarkable figure who long occupied a large space in the public eye—his friend, William Ewart Gladstone. With both men it was will-power and that side of statesmanship which consists in ability to persuade others, and to carry through a definite policy against all opposition, which were so conspicuous. Both were therefore magnificent and dominating figures in their own day, when the influence of a striking personality could throw a glamour over even impracticable or unwise schemes, and before time, the parent of truth, had made the un wisdom unmistakable. Both have left as a legacy

the memory of great figures and great forces. Neither has contributed much to the highest wisdom of the world or its well-being. Both indeed lacked the very highest intellectual qualities, though in each case the infinite skill with which they used the powers they had, and again, the presence of the more superficial and practically useful mental gifts in a state of the highest activity and efficiency, might almost disguise this want. That acute observer, Walter Bagehot, when asked if Gladstone's was a first-rate intellect, hesitated and then said, 'No, but an admirable second-rate intellect in a first-rate state of effervescence.' The word 'effervescence' is less applicable to Manning; but substantially the verdict on him must be the same. On the other hand, a man is accounted great as an effective power who fills a large space in the world's eye, and who dominates the minds and wills of his fellows; who has the perseverance and ability to carry out large and difficult designs; and, so judged, greatness can be denied neither to Manning nor to Gladstone, and was not attained by Bagehot himself, whose merely intellectual powers were certainly far higher.

The resemblance between Manning and Gladstone extends in some degree to the disproportion between the immediate tenacity of conviction and the strength of its grounds. The wiry, persistent effort which enabled each to carry through a project did not necessarily correspond to real depth of belief. It represented will-power rather than intellectual grasp. And the same consequence is visible in both—an ultimate instability of view, the more startling because of the tenacity with which the abandoned view had once been held. Gladstone began life as a Tory and ended as almost a Radical. From being a strong Unionist he became a Home-Ruler. So unexpected and surprising were his mental revolutions that Aubrey de Vere wittily compared them to the knight's move at chess. So Manning, the typical representative of 'morbid moderation,' as Archdeacon of Chichester, astonished Odo Russell, who remembered his past, when he appeared in Rome in 1870 as the typical *intransigent* of the hour. And the days which saw Gladstone become a Home-Ruler saw Manning make a further marked change in his views on the Temporal Power and on the education of the clergy—the very points on which his

earlier attitude had seemed to be almost that of an inspired prophet.

Nor was this mystical element wanting in Gladstone. The strong religious tendency, which nearly led him to adopt the Church as a profession, remained through life, and included the characteristic of which we speak. Every one remembers the saying of a well-known politician: 'I don't mind Mr Gladstone playing with three aces up his sleeve, but I object to his trying to persuade me that Almighty God put them there.' Another story illustrative of this peculiarity was current in 1886. Gladstone was said to have written a letter to the late Lord Tennyson, at the end of which he referred to his new Home-Rule policy. Tennyson, a strong Unionist, had found some lines in 'Hesiod' to the effect that 'a man can very easily pull down a political constitution by tampering with it, but that, if any one thinks he can do what must be the work of many generations, namely, build up a new constitution, that man shall fail unless he is inhabited by the spirit of a god.' A friend to whom Tennyson showed these lines, remarked, 'I hope they will make Gladstone think.' 'Think?' Tennyson replied; 'yes, they will make him think he is inhabited by the spirit of a god.' Gladstone's answer fulfilled this prophecy. He spoke of having, in consequence of Tennyson's letter, 'cross-examined himself with a deep sense of his responsibilities,' and concluded by saying that at his time of life he should never have attempted anything so difficult and far-reaching unless he had had a clear conviction that it was his divinely appointed work to do so.

The perseverance of Mr Gladstone, at the cost of breaking up his party and losing his oldest friends, showed on a larger canvas the same qualities as Manning's disastrous education schemes. The Gladstonian party was formed, but Home Rule was not achieved. So, too, Hammersmith and Kensington were accomplished facts; but the effective education of Roman Catholic clergy and laity was certainly not advanced.

Just the same gifts were visible in Manning's action on behalf of the definition of papal infallibility in 1870, of which M. Thureau-Dangin gives a very interesting account. The present writer had several conversations with Manning (in 1891) about his action at the Council.

He regarded it as the greatest achievement of his life. It was fascinating to see the animation with which the old Cardinal recalled his former battles. 'Come again. It does me good to talk of it. It makes me live in the past,' he said. He related how he and the Bishop of Ratisbon, sitting on the steps of the papal throne on the feast of St Peter and Paul in 1866, made a vow that they would work for the definition of papal infallibility. He regarded the doctrine as a great weapon for the soldier of Christ in those evil days. Its acceptance was also to be the touchstone whereby the whole-hearted Catholics were to be known from the half-hearted. The historical side of the doctrine to be defined did not seem to enter his mind. He meant to 'fight the battle of Peter against his enemies,' and to vindicate the claims of the Holy Father, smiting the world with 'high doctrine.' The definition would throw a halo round the figure of the Vicar of Christ. Here was the mystical idea, the motive power; and in its execution he perhaps showed greater capacity than ever before. Though a foreigner and not a perfect Italian scholar—inferior in this respect to Cardinal Wiseman—he dominated the whole assembly, and was by common consent the greatest power in the Council. Ubiquitous and untiring, his enemies called him 'Il diavolo del concilio.'

The mystic bent in later years concentrated itself on the people and the poor, especially the poor of Ireland. There was a distinctly mystical element in his democratic sympathies, and it was characteristic of him to say that Moses first made him a democrat.

He had courted unpopularity in the eyes of the English world for the first fifteen years of his archiepiscopate by acting on fixed principles uncongenial to Englishmen. But in his last years a measure of popularity came; and it was not unwelcome. His views on the Temporal Power and on the type of clergy needed for the success of the Roman Church in England, expressed in the famous 'Hindrances,' indicate so wide a change in some of his opinions that the critic has in a sense the Cardinal's own sanction for strictures on his earlier policy. But it is observable that, while giving the judgment of more mature experience, he seems never to have reflected that it was his own policy which was largely,

perhaps mainly, responsible for the failures and faults which he deploras. He had denounced the type of mind Newman wished to form among Roman Catholics as a repetition of the cultivated Oxford type; yet it is expressly the qualities of the Oxford clergyman which he desiderates in the 'Hindrances.' Here are his words in a letter to Monsignor Talbot, written in 1866, the second year of his reign as archbishop:

'I see much danger of an English Catholicism, of which Newman is the highest type. It is the old Anglican, patristic, literary, Oxford tone transplanted into the Church. It takes the line of deprecating exaggerations, foreign devotions, Ultramontanism, anti-national sympathies. In one word, it is worldly Catholicism.' (Purcell's 'Life,' ii, 323.)

Against this 'danger' he worked for many years with all his untiring energy. Yet it is the absence among the English Roman Catholic clergy of these very qualities which the Anglican clergy possess—of the Oxford literary culture—the very absence in them of patriotism and the presence of anti-national sympathies, which he denounced in 1890 as the first of the 'hindrances' to the spread of Catholicism in England. Here are his remarkable words:

'In 1848 I was in Rome, and read Gioberti's "Primato degli Italiani." In describing England and its religion, he says that the Anglican clergy are "un clero colto e civile." As to culture, they certainly have a literary and scientific culture, more general and more advanced than the body of our priests; sacred science and theology hardly exist among them. Here and there only, such men as Lightfoot and Westcott are to be found. Nevertheless, they are literary: history, constitutional law, and experience in politics, they have very generally. Moreover, they have an interest in public affairs, in the politics and welfare of the country. They are therefore *civiles*. They share and promote the Civil life of the people. It is here that we are wanting, and mischievously wanting.

'The long persecution of the Catholic Church by the laws of England has alienated the hearts of Catholics from the public and political life of England. Till fifty years ago they were legally *ex-lex*. The law is changed, but not the habit of mind formed by it. "Ecclesia patria nostra." Catholics have not only been alienated from public life, but have been tempted to think that patriotism is hardly reconcilable with Catholic fidelity. . . . So long as this habit of mind lasts, we

shall never have a Civil priesthood; and, so long as our priesthood is not Civil, it will be confined to the Sacristy, as in France, not by hostile public opinion, but by our own incapacity to mix in the Civil life of the country.' (Purcell, ii, 774.)

A commanding presence while he was with us, Manning has left us a great example of priestly virtue and ascetic life, of untiring devotion to his Church, of tender sympathy with the poor. But of lasting wisdom, the most he has bequeathed is to be found in his later words, which are at variance with the thoughts and acts of three-quarters of his reign. On the Oxford question, however, he remained in theory firm, though even W. G. Ward wavered after the failure of the Kensington University. It was left to Cardinal Vaughan, all unwillingly, to yield to the wishes of the laity and to undo his predecessor's work by permitting Roman Catholics to frequent the national universities.

That John Henry Newman was conspicuous in his early days for many of the external gifts which help to make a personality impressive as a public figure, we know from the testimony of his Oxford contemporaries. The demeanour which suggested to Principal Shairp a Chrysostom or an Athanasius come to life again; the musical voice with its delicate intonations in preaching or reading prayers; the suppressed emotion, the dramatic instinct which made his sermons, though read from a book, masterpieces in an eloquence quite peculiar to himself—all these made a deep impression on the Oxford of the 'thirties. But, in the years with which M. Thureau-Dangin deals in his latest book, Newman was no longer in the same sense a public character. The contrast between him and Manning is for this reason the more complete. He lived a life of retirement at the Oratory in Birmingham, seen and heard only by a few intimate friends. If Manning was essentially the success of the moment in the Roman Catholic Church, ever before the public eye, ever carrying through the schemes he initiated—and yet left comparatively little that was valuable as a permanent contribution either to thought or to the well-being of the community, in Newman the parts were reversed. He was emphatically the recluse, the apparent failure of the

moment, the man of the future. It is not too much to say that his life was from the first a succession of apparent failures, each of which won him his opportunity of conferring on Christian thought a contribution, the value of which is now recognised by ever-increasing numbers, whether they accept his conclusions or not. And that value is not only speculative—the value of thought as thought—but concerns the abiding practical relations between the Christian churches and modern civilisation.

The characteristics of his career, of which we speak, marked especially the years after 1845. He used to speak jestingly at Oxford—though there was deep pathos mixed with the jest—of his ‘floors.’ He failed as a tutor at Oriel to impress the undergraduates. There is every reason to think that Lord Malmesbury’s picture, in his ‘Memoirs,’ of Newman’s ineffectiveness in dealing with the average undergraduate, gives a true impression. The plan which he and Hurrell Froude conceived for exercising quasi-apostolic functions in their tutorship was opposed by Hawkins, the Provost; and Newman was ultimately compelled to resign. The ‘Tracts for the Times,’ which he inaugurated and edited in 1834, incurred episcopal censure in 1841 and had to be discontinued. As a Roman Catholic, almost his first important work was as Rector of the Catholic University of Ireland. Newman designed this foundation as the university for all English-speaking Catholics. He wholly failed to make it so. For nearly four years after his nomination he was unable to bring the university into being at all. Few even of the Irish bishops could be induced to take any interest in it, except as a party measure against the Queen’s Colleges. At its best it was not a success; and it ultimately ceased to exist, its medical schools alone surviving as a memorial of the attempt.

Newman next endeavoured to guide the policy of the ‘Rambler’—that very able periodical known afterwards, in its enlarged form, as the ‘Home and Foreign Review’—which, in the hands of the late Lord Acton and Mr Richard Simpson, impressed Matthew Arnold as displaying more ‘knowledge and play of mind’ than any other Review of the time. Newman failed, however, to keep the ‘Rambler’ on lines acceptable to the Roman

Catholic bishops. He then tried to edit it himself, but had to resign after his second number. He was commissioned to undertake a translation of the Scriptures, which was to supersede the old Douay version, but had to abandon the attempt. Twice, in 1864 and 1867, did he plan an oratory at Oxford; twice was his design thwarted by the ecclesiastical authorities when apparently on the verge of completion. The years from 1851 to 1867 were one long record of failure in every practical scheme he undertook, with the exception of the Oratory school, which did not call forth his special powers, and was chiefly under the able direction of Father Ambrose St John.

Yet it is hardly an exaggeration to say that each of his failures of the hour led to a work by which posterity has profited. Had he been absorbed by his Oriel tutorship we should never have had the work on 'The Arians of the Fourth Century,' with its really remarkable historical generalisations on the genesis and *rationale* of creeds and dogmas; and it is doubtful if the Oxford movement, as history knows it, would ever have come into existence. For only one man was capable of blending the philosophy of tradition, conceived on Coleridgian lines and expressed or implied in Newman's 'Tracts' and 'Sermons,' with a practical movement which appealed to Pusey, to Palmer, and to the rank and file of High-Churchmen of the new school. The subsequent breakdown of the 'Tracts,' again—another practical failure—gave him a stimulus for one of his works which was for all time—the 'Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine,' in which, fifteen years before the 'Origin of Species' appeared, the idea of evolution was so clearly foreshadowed. To the long-drawn-out failure of the Dublin Rectorship we owe alike the 'Idea of a University' and the third volume of 'Historical Sketches,' both full of interest for the years that were to come. The connexion here again was causal. To his work for the 'Rambler,' and his consequent experience of the difficulties of combining real open-minded thought with taking a line acceptable to ecclesiastical authority in a time of tension we owe that remarkable chapter of the 'Apologia'—'The Position of my Mind since 1845,' the title of which so little conveys its interest and value. The scheme for the translation of the Scriptures led him to prepare an 'intro-

duction' which traced the development of the religious idea in the history of Israel—a fitting prelude to the essay on Development. Should this exist in any form suitable for publication, we can hardly doubt that its value will be very considerable.

If the failure of the Oxford scheme had no direct effect in any publication for which his admirers are grateful, it at least gave Newman the leisure but for which the 'Grammar of Assent' might never have been written. Moreover, the lines of policy attempted by him without success in action, partially indicated in writing, are just those which the wisest thinkers among Roman Catholics—notably in France and in America—regard as offering permanent hope for the practical success of their Church in the future. The substitution of the fine and true psychology of the 'Grammar of Assent' for the old scholastic philosophy of religious belief is, we believe, gradually being effected among the more cultured Roman Catholics. The ideal of a university in which all sciences, including theology, should be represented, so as to effect the provisional synthesis which would keep Christian theology abreast of modern knowledge and preserve for education its religious character, remains as an ideal for the thoughtful Catholic, whether the university in which it may be attempted is Roman Catholic, like Louvain, or more or less neutral, like Oxford. It stands over against the impracticable attempt to preserve the medieval dream of theology as the *magistra scientiarum* which was to control the conclusions of history and even of physics. And lastly, the idea of development, exhibited in the work which marked his failure as an Anglican leader, while giving an *apologia* for the past, gives also the hope for the future; for it proposes to reconcile the proud *semper eadem* of Rome with a power of adaptation to new circumstances in thought and life. And on this the advanced thinkers in the Church of Rome build their hopes for the age to come.

Indeed the whole succession of Newman's failures in the cause of Catholic education and thought for his contemporaries had a large share in inspiring a brief but most important essay of his later years, which is the sketch of a treatise on the philosophy of an ecclesiastical polity. We refer to the 'introduction,' written in 1877,

to a new edition of the 'Prophetical Office,' republished under the title of 'Via Media.' His aim in his work at Dublin, in editing the 'Rambler,' and in his Oxford scheme, had been to combine real and thorough treatment of the questions absorbing the thinking world with loyalty to the existing ecclesiastical authority and to the main outlines of Catholic tradition. Newman believed the living organism of the Catholic Church in communion with Rome to be in its idea the great antidote to that attitude of negation in religion now known as agnosticism. In order that it should in reality prove to be so, two things were required—the recognition of authority as keeping the organism one, and a body of theological thought constantly energising, and as well adapted to the present time as the work of Aquinas had been to the thought of the thirteenth century. Newman found this last requisite unattainable. The freedom which was necessary for thoroughness and candour was at that time practically impossible for a Roman Catholic. In a certain sense the story of his Anglican life was repeated. In 1841 he claimed liberty to hold Catholic views as an Anglican; the retort was the condemnation of Tract 90 by the heads of houses at Oxford and by the bishops. In 1855 he claimed, in a remarkable lecture, freedom of research as a Catholic; and he soon learnt that the dominant theology would not practically tolerate it. Speaking of history, he wrote in oft-quoted words, 'One would not be thought a good Catholic unless one doctored all one's facts.' We have lived to see the days when Leo XIII directly encouraged among Roman Catholic scholars the utmost candour in historical research; and the official approval, during his pontificate, of Pastor's history of the Popes showed a different temper from that deprecated in Newman's words given above.

It may fairly be argued that the change was largely due to the influence of Newman's own writings. Such changes in policy in high places are from time to time wrought by the gradual influence on thought of a powerful personality. They express at the moment the different views of individual rulers and their advisers. Newman analysed, with acute perception, the forces at work in the Roman Church which are calculated to bring about adaptations to the requirements of the time, and thereby helped his

followers to possess their souls in patience in days when his thoughts and opinions were viewed with suspicion by the authorities. He likewise traced those forces which made such opposition and suspicion at times inevitable. Passages from the works of St Thomas Aquinas were for upwards of half a century under the ban of ecclesiastical censure; in the end his opinions could claim an authority in the Church second to no other. Newman points out the conflicting interests in the polity of the Church which explain both phases; and his argument, which shows him as the Burke of the ecclesiastical polity, applies to other Churches besides the Roman. Christianity is of course, he says, in the first place a creed. As such it appeals to the intellect. Theology attempts the task of analysing its implications and reconciling it with thought and learning, and the principle of theology is truth. But Christianity has been also throughout a worship appealing to the devotional nature; and the Church became, moreover, a polity. The principle of devotion is edification. A polity needs rulers; and expediency rather than truth is the immediate guiding principle of rule. What is expedient at one time may not be so at another; and different rulers will judge differently of expediency.

All these three aspects are ever present in any Church which claims to be the guardian of Christianity; and the interests of one may at times encroach on those of another. At a time of civil disorder, when places of education are broken up, the intellectual element may suffer from the absence of institutions devoted to its cultivation. Thus Newman constantly lamented the dissolution of the Sorbonne as a blow to Roman Catholic theology. Again, free discussion, the prerequisite of ascertaining scientific truth, may lead to undesirable contention at a crisis when union of forces is specially desirable; and then the interests of expediency militate against those of truth. Theology in the large sense languishes; devotion and rule are active. The very presence of danger keeps faith and devotion alive; and, if anarchy threatens or prevails, the rulers become more absolute and active. The intellectual domain is thereupon invaded and at times disfigured by those whose principle is expediency. At other times the intellectual element

may become too active and unruly, as it did early in the thirteenth century; and the principles of authority and tradition may be too weak to withstand the rationalism which results from such excess. Hence the widespread infidelity in the medieval University of Paris. Again, rationalism may seriously imperil the devotional element, which necessarily thrives best in an atmosphere of faith; or the exclusive presence of devotion, however pure and intense, if it sets at naught the principles of common-sense or the conditions necessary to stable rule, may be disastrous for the Church. Thus, even St Francis of Assisi needed the wise counsels of official authority to make his great enterprise practicable. Thus again, when the cardinals, sick of worldliness in high places, brought from his mountain-cell to the papal chair the ascetic hermit who took the name of Celestine V, the total absence in the new Pope of the qualities of a ruler led to hopeless confusion and disaster. The *gran rifiuto* was a necessity; and the embodiment of masterful rule—not without its attendant defects—occupied the throne of Peter in the person of Boniface VIII.

Thus did the English Cardinal find a philosophy in the history of the Church which brought patience and endurance in the special trials of his Roman Catholic life; and thus did he reconcile himself to a time when, during the pontificate of Pius IX, his own gifts found little scope in the Church, without ever suffering the ‘blessed vision of peace,’ of which he speaks in the wonderful epilogue to his work on Development, and to which the ‘kindly light’ had led him, to grow dim in his eyes. The ‘sixties of the last century were, he wrote, ‘a peculiar time, when only extreme views were accounted orthodox.’ He constantly regretted that the French Revolution had destroyed the old theological schools, and that they had not been effectively replaced. Active thought abreast of the times was in abeyance among Roman Catholics, who lived on the theology of a former age. While original theological speculation had decayed, the Revolution of 1848, and the subsequent Roman crisis, led to a strong opposition in Rome to all ‘liberalism’; and to distinguish accurately the freedom of thought which is essential to truth from that which meant in-subordination and rationalism was perhaps beyond the

capacity of rulers who had no adequate body of intellectual counsellors.

The triple distinction in the ecclesiastical polity of which we speak—between the interests of truth, of devotion, and of stable rule—was formulated by Newman in 1877; but, in fact, his whole life as a Roman Catholic was based on its practical recognition. His Anglican life from 1828 onwards had been the story of his growing belief that he had found the reconciliation of the conflicting claims of the intellect and the spirit in the historical Christian Church, which had faithfully preserved the apostolic *ethos*. It was his sense of the claims of the spiritual nature, stimulated by sorrow, as he tells us in the 'Apologia,' that led him, under the guidance of the Fathers, from an incipient liberalism and intellectualism to join forces with Pusey and the High Anglicans. The early years of his Roman Catholic life saw the peace and happiness which came from his belief that he had found in his new Church, with its long descent, that spirituality which he looked for. But from the time when, as Rector of the Catholic University, he had to turn his attention to the intellectual position of Roman Catholics, at the very moment when the scientific movement was threatening to destroy in all religious communions so many old theological landmarks, his difficulties began.

Newman's qualities and his antecedents and his new position marked him out as in many ways just the intellectual leader whom the times demanded. Yet he soon found that his hands were tied. It was a truism to the student of Church history—so he urged in the 'Apologia'—that 'individuals and not the Holy See' take the lead in an intellectual movement within the Church. The great men who have formed Roman Catholic theology did not frame it as official ecclesiastical rulers, but gained their influence in virtue of intellectual genius, learning, and sanctity. St Clement of Alexandria and St Augustine, Albertus Magnus and St Thomas Aquinas were instances in point at different periods in Church history. Some who had most strongly influenced theology were, on certain points, accounted unorthodox, as were Origen and Tertullian. Theology ever stood in need of the great thinkers, for it was the product of thought and not of inspiration. If the Roman Church was *semper eadem*, it

was not, he held, to be expected that this rule of the past should be reversed in the present or the future. Therefore Newman felt that he had himself a work to do in which he might follow the greatest examples in the Roman communion of the past. Like Albertus Magnus and St Thomas Aquinas, he was the teacher of Catholic youth in a university. This was the very position in which precedent—and he was very sensitive to precedent and tradition—most clearly sanctioned the work of reconciling the truths of revelation and Christian tradition with the learning and thought of the day. Yet he ever insisted on obedience to authority as the mark distinguishing fruitful intellectual effort for the Church from the free-thought which leads to heresy. In this matter he had fallen on evil times. Cardinal Cullen in Ireland, quite as much as Archbishop Manning in England, upheld a policy of absoluteness and *intransigence* in the intellectual domain. The one represented the conservatism of Gregory XVI, the other the reaction of Pius IX from his early liberalism. A certain jealousy and fear of the rôle of the intellectual leader had indeed existed ever since free-thought at the Reformation threatened the unity of the Church; and the Revolution, in all its phases, had renewed and increased this fear.

Thus the troubles of the Church, and the dread in high places of the excesses of intellectual freedom, engendered a conservative theological standard inexorably hostile to the frankness and candour and thoroughness in historical and critical research which Newman's work required. He had to content himself with indicating its lines with the greatest tact and reserve—a tact without which censure in some form would have been inevitable. The lecture in which he most strongly urged the necessity of absolute freedom in scientific investigation was submitted to theological censorship, and he found that he could not deliver it without offence. It was however published by him subsequently. He often referred wistfully to the freedom of thought allowed in medieval universities. Still, though the theological standard of the moment hampered him in work for which he was, above all men, fitted, though an intellectual opportunity was for ever lost, he never swerved from his rule of obedience, and even admitted the partial justification of a temporary

conservatism which was repressive, in the excesses of modern free-thought.

There is no doubt that, in this and in his succeeding efforts, confident in his own power of dealing with the vital questions of the hour, he regarded the more timid policy much as a doctor would regard the shrinking from an operation which would cure, though at the cost of anxiety and pain, an otherwise incurable illness. Hence his early sympathy with Lord Acton and the 'Rambler,' which, in spite of what he regarded as defects of tone, did make the attempt to grapple with the science and thought of a new era. Hence his readiness to go to Oxford and do there some of the work which he had wished to do in Dublin. But, with unyielding conviction, he held that the right to decide on the opportuneness of his policy lay with the ecclesiastical authorities. Loyal obedience was due to them, even though their decision might be utterly opposed to the line he judged wisest.

Just as he had instantly stopped the 'Tracts for the Times' on a hint from the Bishop of Oxford, so he resigned the editorship of the 'Rambler' when he found that his frank treatment of history was displeasing to the Roman Catholic episcopate. He twice dropped the Oxford scheme without a struggle; and, when the Munich Brief and the Encyclical of 1864 marked out a line of Christian apologetic which he did not regard as adequate, he plainly said in the 'Apologia' that his hands were tied so far as controversy was concerned. 'I interpret recent acts of authority,' he wrote, 'as tying the hands of such a controversialist as I should be.' His respect for the interests of truth would not allow him to undertake apologetic on the lines indicated by the authorities, which he regarded as inadequate in point of candour and of thoroughness. His respect for the rights of authority would not allow him to write on his own lines, which would be at variance with the spirit of the documents in question. In place of the ideal he had formed when he parted company with liberalism—the ideal (which in 1845 he believed to be largely realised in the Roman Church) of an authority which would check reason only when it is on the point of rationalism—he had to face the reality of a dominant body of thought which, fashioned by acute intellects long ago, in conditions of knowledge

long past, had, from the circumstances (as he considered) of a troublous time, been allowed to obtain an absolute authority far in excess of its due.

The contrast between Newman and Manning is all the more interesting because they to some extent represent two distinct types of Roman Catholicism which we now see struggling for mastery. Each man was fascinated by a type in conformity with his own earlier life. The rector of Lavington and the archdeacon was drawn to the Church of St Francis of Sales and St Charles Borromeo—of the pastor of souls, and the guide of consciences, and of the saintly official ruler. The study of such historical characters brought out in Manning a special affinity for the post-Reformation Church, of which they were representatives; that is, for the Church in action, and in controversy with those who had rebelled from her authority. There was no consideration of deeper intellectual problems, no wide and penetrating thought among churchmen in the period immediately succeeding the Reformation. The success of the Counter-Reformation was due to the gifts in which the Jesuits specially excelled—ascetic life, ready and persuasive speech, controversial rather than philosophical ability. The whole seminary system then introduced was on these lines. The old medieval disputations, once symbols of almost unbridled freedom of speech and speculation, were reorganised and marshalled to defend fixed propositions affirmed by the Catholic, denied by the Protestant. Authority and devotion enjoyed paramount influence; intellect was but the servant whose business it was to defend their claims. Manning, with his high ascetic ideals, his enthusiasm for the priestly caste, his ready but not deep intellect, found in this atmosphere an entirely congenial home.

To Newman it was before all things the Church of the Fathers which typified the genius of the Catholic Church. The days when Christian thought was building up theology as the expression of Christ's faith best suited to educated men in view of the controversies of the hour, persuasive to the intellect of Alexandria or of Athens, were the days congenial to the man who had lived his life among thinkers and scholars in Oxford. On the patristic era of

Church history, he tells us, his imagination loved to dwell as 'in a paradise of delight.' Theology absorbed primarily, not in refuting 'heretical rebels,' but in intellectually interpreting and applying the genius of Christianity, satisfying the deeper thought of its own champions rather than merely scoring immediate successes in argument, was his ideal. The controversial zeal of an Athanasius, indeed, was not distasteful to him. It had its place in the scheme. If it was militant, it was so in defence of a few great principles and truths. But neither officialism nor organised special pleading on behalf of a number of predetermined intellectual positions, to be preserved because they were in possession—the fatal weakness of the later Roman Church—was to his taste.

Newman found it hard to walk in the cumbrous theological armour of the school-theology which had been erected by a very curious sequence of events. The dialectical mania of the thirteenth century had led the Schoolmen, at Paris and elsewhere, to formulate answers to every conceivable question posed by the roving intellect of the day. These *responsa* had been used in the lecture-room to quiet enquirers, much as a child must be satisfied with a definite reply, and requires it in matters on which no really provable answer is available; and such answers gradually acquired the authority of prescription. In the sixteenth century came the natural reaction against the resulting over-elaborate and over-definite structure of the school-theology, belonging really to the clever childhood of modern western civilisation. Readers of Sir Thomas More's earlier works will come to the conclusion, from his words on the subject, that, in the ordinary course of events, scholasticism was destined to be thrown over at that time by the more cultivated Catholics. Be this as it may, the Reformation brought a panic which made any such movement of intellectual reform impossible; and the insistence on authority as against private judgment led to a new and more vigorous enforcement of the conclusions of the scholastic theologians, so useful, in such a crisis, from their very definiteness and completeness. Thus a system which was the product of an age of unbridled rationalism was invested with almost divine authority.

The avowed ground of the authority of the scholastic

conclusions was that they were deductions from revelation. The vulnerable point in the system—the question whether they were true and demonstrable deductions at all—was set aside as sceptical; and the system prevailed. Careful readers of Newman's lectures at Dublin will note that he at once put his finger on the weak point of this method of enforcing and interpreting theology. His respect for the existing Roman system as a whole prevented him from undertaking any direct campaign against it; but, as we have seen, he aimed at circumventing it by widening the intellects of his co-religionists and enlarging their appreciation of the world of scientifically-known fact.

If we are right in maintaining that it was the genius of the militant post-Reformation Roman Catholicism which Manning represented, we have at once an explanation, over and above his own special qualities and defects, which partly accounts for his successes and his failures. What zeal and ability in an emergency will do, he did, carrying out what he regarded as the orders of a God-given authority. This was the keynote of the work done in the post-Reformation Church, when military obedience was as essential to the Catholic divine as energy and capacity in its exercise. Granted that the Council of Trent required Manning to found his seminary, none of his contemporaries could have shown more energy in carrying through an unpromising scheme. Granted that there ought to be an English Catholic University under his own absolute control, no one was better fitted to set it on foot. Granted that the definition of 1870 was pre-eminently desirable because Pius IX desired it, no other churchman of the day would have carried it through so successfully. In each case the voice of authority, as he interpreted its decisions, was to him the voice of God, and directed and inspired his great capacities in their unswerving and untiring efforts. But the task of framing the initial judgment as to the wisest practicable policy—the root of lasting and constructive work—is, with a system subject to military discipline, in the hands of very few indeed; and Manning was not fitted by his qualities, remarkable as they were, to be one of those few.

We have said that Manning and Newman represented two types of Catholicism—that of the Counter-Reforma-

tion and that of the patristic era respectively. It may be asked, how far is the type represented by Newman identical with the liberal Catholicism which is now arousing considerable attention in such writers as Abbé Loisy, Abbé Houtin, and Father Tyrrell? In one point, and in one point only, the resemblance is very marked, namely, that both types urge strongly the necessity of a frank consideration of the drift of the positive sciences, and deprecate undue dogmatism in theology. But the temper evinced in Newman's opposition to the liberalism of modern society, his strong sense of the value of intellectual conservatism as a protection to the stability of the ecclesiastical polity, and his distrust of reason as ever prone in matters religious to exceed its powers—all marked features in his intellectual character—have no parallel in the modern liberal Roman Catholics. Newman's temper is far more akin to that of More and Erasmus, who rejected scholastic subtlety and dogmatism, but were nevertheless filled with enthusiasm for ancient ways and venerable traditions. Still, the story of his connexion with Lord Acton and the 'Rambler' shows his deep sympathy with the thoroughness of thought and research which is one main characteristic of the liberal Catholic movement. Put 'L'Évangile et l'Église' into a more tentative and interrogative shape, divest 'Autour d'un Petit Livre' of its occasional flippancy and its irritating personalities, and you would have books with which Newman would largely have sympathised. But he ever had a statesman's sense of the wide interval which separates discussion from any definite step forward, not merely in the official decisions of the Church, but in the finally accepted and avowed convictions of the theological schools and even of individuals.

Our knowledge of things divine is so largely symbolical, and therefore outside the sphere in which deductions can be drawn with certainty, that over-great confidence, in theological reasoning especially, was, in Newman's opinion, misplaced. Thus the very ground of his opposition to scholastic dogmatism was also an argument against the sanguineness of theological liberalism. All these considerations weighed in keeping him in the Church of England long after his reason pointed the way clearly to the Church of Rome. Still more did they weigh against

the final acceptance of any serious modification of traditional theology in the Roman Church. There was a compartment in his mind in which the liberal Catholic would have found a very congenial atmosphere; but the whole man, in action and in practical belief, remained a Father of the Church. Reverence, conservatism, and the love of wisdom were his characteristics. He would have found his kinship in our own day with the learned Benedictine, who stores up the ancient theology as a treasure of thought, not as an oppressive array of dogmatic maxims, whose heart is in the past, while he keeps abreast of modern criticism, far more than with the typical liberal Catholic, who says strong things against the theologians and against the ecclesiastical rulers, and is sanguine of creating a new theology radiant with the hues of twentieth century progress.

The present opposition between liberalism and *intransigence* is indeed an opposition between temporary excesses on either side at a time of transition. So far as the underlying permanent antithesis is between elements ultimately reconcilable with Roman Catholicism, it must resolve itself into that between the types which we have styled Jesuit and Patristic respectively. The former is the Catholicism of authority and discipline. It is proper to a Church in the state of defensive warfare, which keeps the intellect under military discipline. The latter form of Catholicism marks the Church when she is promoting peaceful civilisation, giving to individual initiative free scope, and recognising original learning and thought as important factors in her well-being. These two types are largely those symbolised by the two English Cardinals. Manning, in spite of his opposition to the Jesuits, belongs unmistakably to that type of Catholicism of which they are the most distinguished representatives, and Newman rather to the type preserved in the Benedictine order, owning as fellow-creatures such writers as Mabillon and the congregation of St Maur; though he added an element of active and free speculation more akin to his beloved Augustine, or to the medieval Schoolmen, than to the calmer labours of the monkish historians.

Art. IV.—THE GERMAN ELECTIONS.

SINCE the March days of 1848, when Frederick William IV appeared at one of the windows of the royal palace in response to the clamour of revolution, and stood bare-headed to salute, as they were borne past him, the shrouded bodies of his Berlin citizens slain in the street-fighting by his soldiers, the Prussian capital has witnessed no stranger scene than that which took place on the same spot on the evening of February 5, 1907. Again the sovereign showed himself at a window of the palace, in response, however, not to the threats of an angry people, but to the insistent hurraing of a vociferously loyal crowd bent on congratulating the Kaiser on the final results of the general election. With his consort beside him, William II stood forth as the Great Elector in the most modern sense of the term, and in an impassioned oration, borrowing the reckless language of his Chancellor, urged his people 'to ride down whatever stands in our way.' A substantial majority of the electors who had gone to the polls throughout the German Empire had, it is true, pronounced against the policy with which he publicly identified himself, and in his own capital Social Democracy had again carried five constituencies out of six with majorities more crushing than ever. Nevertheless fortune, on the whole, had smiled upon his venture; and in the exuberance of a victory which, however precarious and perhaps unexpected, was at least sufficient unto the day, the overlord of sixty million Germans did not hesitate to denounce more than half his people as beaten foemen whom 'we are much minded to beat again.'

In the cold light of returning day the bay leaves must have lost something of their freshness in the eyes even of the chief actor in that dramatic midnight scene. For the detached observer, whose business it is merely to study the figures of the German elections and to analyse the conditions under which they took place, the result certainly assumes a much more sober complexion. On December 13, 1906, the Government, having been defeated on the estimates for military expenditure in South West Africa, dissolved the Reichstag and appealed to the country. The majority, numbering 177 deputies, consisted exclusively

of the Roman Catholic Centre party and its Polish, Alsatian, and minor allies and auxiliaries, and of the Social Democrats. The minority, numbering 168, was made up of members belonging to all the other parliamentary parties—Conservatives and Agrarians, National Liberals and Anti-Semites, and the three Radical groups. The supporters of the Government, moreover, mustered on that occasion relatively in greater strength than its opponents, for 27 members of the Centre were absent, and in a full house the majority against the Government would presumably have been about 30, i.e. 213 to 183. On the basis of the polling at the general election of 1903 the parties that voted against the Government represented some 5,500,000 electors, while the supporters of the Government represented less than 4,000,000.

As the result of his appeal to the electorate, Prince Bülow has practically reversed the position in the Reichstag, without, however, having by any means reversed it in the country. He has obtained in the new Reichstag a majority of 37, made up of the following parties, whose strength in the last Diet is given in brackets for purposes of comparison :

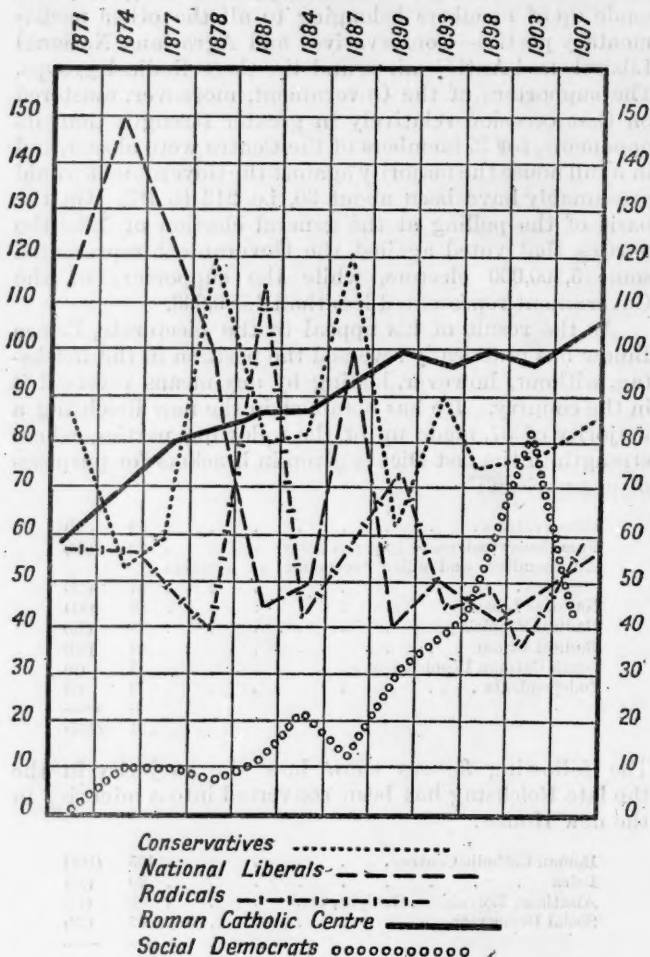
Conservatives	59	(32)
Free Conservatives, or Imperial party	22	(22)
Anti-Semites, and allied 'economic' or agrarian groups	31	(21)
National Liberals	56	(51)
Radical People's party	28	(20)
Radical Union	14	(10)
South German People's party	7	(6)
Independents	4	(2)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	221	(184)

The following figures show how the majority in the the late Reichstag has been converted into a minority in the new House :

Roman Catholic Centre	105	(104)
Poles	20	(16)
Alsations, Lorrainers, Guelphs, etc.	8	(14)
Social Democrats	43	(79)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	176	(213)

The accompanying diagram shows the fluctuations of party strength in the Reichstag since the creation of the
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FLUCTUATION OF CHIEF POLITICAL GROUPS AT GENERAL ELECTIONS
SINCE 1871.



The figures at top of columns indicate the year of each general election.
Those at the side indicate the number of members of the different parties in
each Reichstag out of a total membership of 397.

German Empire. It brings out prominently both the rise of socialism until the elections of 1907, and the remarkable stability of the Centre party during the last twenty-five years, in contrast to the large oscillations of the pendulum in the case of other parties.

The representation of the German people in the Reichstag is determined by the electoral law of May 31, 1869, which applied at first only to the German states forming the North German Federation, and was extended after the creation of the German Empire to the South German states in 1871 and to the *Reichsland* of Alsace-Lorraine in 1873. That law was based upon universal male adult suffrage, and the distribution of seats amongst the different states was determined by their population, every 100,000 and every fraction of 100,000 in excess of 50,000 being entitled to return one representative, with the proviso that even the smallest state, however much its population might fall short of 100,000, should have one representative of its own. On the basis of the then population, the number of deputies to the Reichstag was brought up in 1873, when the annexed provinces were admitted to the franchise, to a total of 397, at which it has remained ever since.

According to the law of 1869 provision was to be made by future legislation for increasing the number of deputies in proportion to the increase of population; but this constitutional pledge has never been redeemed. The population of the German Empire has risen from forty millions to over sixty millions at the census of 1905. The Reichstag nevertheless still numbers only 397 deputies instead of approximately 600 representatives, whom, according to the constitution, the country should now be entitled to return. The Radical parties, and especially the Social Democrats, have repeatedly clamoured for redistribution, which would obviously work to their advantage, as the chief increase of population has taken place in the cities and great industrial centres where most of their supporters are gathered together. Berlin, for instance, which now has a population of over two millions, would return twenty members instead of six; and, as the Social Democrats now hold five out of the six Berlin seats, and the Radicals have with difficulty retained the smallest and least populous district, almost the whole increase in

the representation of the capital would probably accrue to the Socialists. For this very reason, however, the other political parties are more or less openly opposed to redistribution; and in official circles it is taboo.

In theory the Federal Governments and the bureaucracy are bound to abstain from all attempts to influence parliamentary elections. In practice a certain amount of official pressure has always been exercised in favour of parties who stand well with the powers that be and against their opponents. Ministers, however, not being responsible to Parliament, and their tenure of office not being conditioned upon the support of a parliamentary majority, have hitherto been regarded as being above party, and therefore debarred from descending into the electoral arena. Bismarck, it is true, never hesitated to denounce his political adversaries as *Reichsfeinde*, i.e. as enemies of the Empire, much as the present Emperor has often reviled the Socialists as *vaterlandslose Gesellen*, i.e. as fellows without a fatherland. But the old Chancellor drew the line at open interference in parliamentary elections. He admitted that he had been sometimes sorely tempted to interfere, but he had always, he added, refrained from doing so on grounds of prudential policy. Only a few years ago, Prince Bülow himself spoke in the same sense, and even more categorically. Count Posadowsky, the Secretary of State for the Interior, was accused of having accepted a pecuniary contribution from the League of German Industrialists towards a propaganda in favour of a Bill before Parliament to prevent picketing in labour disputes. Prince Bülow severely reproved all such practices; but at the last general election, discarding precedents and unmindful of his own precepts, he not only threw himself, as Chancellor, headlong into the fray, but helped to finance the electoral campaign.

Yet with all the advantages which the Governmental *bloc* derived from the inequalities of the old electoral constituencies, with all the pressure exerted, as never before, by the whole bureaucratic machinery, with the personal influence of the Chancellor thrown, as never before, into the scales, the result has been to secure, it is true, a heterogeneous majority in the new Reichstag, but a majority which, in the country at large, represents only a minority of the electorate. We know from our own

experience, notably at the last general election, that the parliamentary strength of parties does not by any means always correspond closely with their total polls throughout the country. But we have not adopted in the United Kingdom the principle of uniform constituencies, urban and rural, upon the sole basis of population, which, in theory at least, obtains in Germany, and did originally obtain there in practice. That, in these circumstances, the Government's majority in the new Reichstag should represent in the aggregate nearly one million less votes than were cast in favour of the opposition parties, is a stubborn fact which no amount of shouting can disguise.

The more closely it is examined, the greater indeed appears to be its significance. The elections were fought against two parties in the State, the Roman Catholic Centre, with its Polish and other nationalist allies, and the Social Democrats. The former has emerged practically unscathed from the fray, a few Guelph seats in the old kingdom of Hanover representing its only losses, for which it has found compensation in an almost equal number of Polish gains, whilst it has added just half a million votes to its total poll, which has risen from two and a quarter to two and three quarter millions. As for the so-called 'rout of the Socialists,' they have lost, it is true, nearly half the seats they held in the last Reichstag; but can a party be described as routed or even permanently checked which still represents the largest vote cast in favour of any single party and shows an actual increase of a quarter of a million on the aggregate, namely, from three millions to three millions and a quarter? Nothing surely can bring home more strongly to the German masses the injustice of an obsolete distribution of electoral districts, which defies both the letter and spirit of the constitution, than the fact that whereas 3,251,009 voters have only succeeded in returning 43 Social Democrats, 1,499,501 votes have sufficed to secure 83 seats for the two Conservative groups, and National Liberals and Radicals together have returned 105 deputies on a total poll (1,570,836 and 1,211,304 respectively) inferior by nearly half a million to the single Socialist poll. The only favourable feature from the Government's point of view which a careful analysis of the polls can reveal is that the polling was heavier on this occasion than at any

previous general election, 82 per cent. of the registered electors having recorded their votes in 1907, as against 75 per cent in 1903; and that, on the whole, its supporters received a larger accession of strength than its opponents from the increased poll.

The future alone can show how far the optimism of German official circles will be justified. Prince Bülow has for the present achieved his purpose; and, having got the majority which he required, he is not the man to feel much compunction as to the methods by which he obtained it, or as to whether it really represents the feeling of the country. The all-important question for Germany and for the rest of the world is to what ends he will use his success. That question can best be answered by trying to disentangle from the confused party controversies of the electoral campaign the real issue upon which the Government itself fought it. The actual vote by which it was defeated on December 13 turned on too insignificant a point to account in itself for the dissolution of the Reichstag. The Government wanted supplementary supplies to the amount of 29,229,000 marks (1,461,000*l.*) for military expenditure in South-west Africa, and was prepared to promise a reduction of the expeditionary force to 8000 men by March 31. The Centre party, who, as usual, held the balance, were willing to grant 20,288,000 marks (1,014,000*l.*) on condition that the Government should pledge itself to reduce the force in South-west Africa to 2500 men. The difference was hardly in itself vital; and, except for a certain solemnity of tone, Prince Bülow gave no indication before the division took place that a rejection of the Government's demands would involve a dissolution. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the colonial policy of the Government had already received some severe checks earlier in the year, as, for instance, by the rejection of the proposal for the creation of a separate Colonial Office, and that it had just been subjected to very violent and damaging criticism in a series of debates on the colonial scandals. If Prince Bülow was not actually riding for a fall, he showed very clearly that he was fully prepared for it, when, immediately after the division had been taken, he pulled out of his pocket the Imperial decree dissolving the

Reichstag, and in a few carefully worded sentences stated, with the utmost clearness and precision, the issue upon which he intended to fight the elections, namely, '*our military honour, our prestige, and our position in the world.*'

In vain did the Centre party lay stress upon the constitutional functions of the Reichstag and the necessity of vindicating its power of the purse, which is the only effective weapon it possesses for controlling the policy of the Government. In vain did the Radical groups insist that the Chancellor's breach with the clerical Centre was the supreme *fait nouveau* in the political situation, and that its logical corollary must be the inauguration of a new era for German Liberalism. The semi-official press ignored the arguments of the Centre, and only responded to the advances of the Radicals with as much amiability as it could afford to show without exasperating the jealousy of Conservatives and Agrarians. Prince Bülow was much too wary to allow the issue to be shifted for the convenience of either friends or foes. He had put it clearly and succinctly before the Reichstag, and he emphasised it shortly afterwards in a lengthy manifesto, of which, however, the substance was perhaps the least remarkable part. The issuing of such a manifesto in the midst of an electoral campaign was a highly significant departure from all precedent; but what was far more significant was the selection of the channel through which it was addressed to the German electorate. It was not addressed to any notable politician, to any well-known party leader, to any eminent man of light and leading, but to Lieutenant-General von Liebert, whose only claim to be the recipient of the Chancellor's confidences was that, besides being president of a somewhat obscure 'Imperial Association for combating Social Democracy,' he was an active member of council of the Pan-German League, the Navy League, and the Colonial Society, the three great organisations for the promotion of Germany's *Weltpolitik*.

There is no shadow of doubt about the robustness of General von Liebert's opinions. For him 'the twentieth century belongs to the Germans,' for Germany possesses the 'brute force' (*brutale Gewalt*), which, in his view, is worth all the diplomacies. He has summed up his political

creed in a few terse words: 'If anybody asks me whether we are to disarm, then I reply, for God's sake keep up the army, and go on building ships, ships, ships.' By addressing himself to so stalwart a representative of German chauvinism Prince Bülow gave the parole for the raging and tearing propaganda in favour of militant Imperialism, which was to be amongst the masses as distinctive a feature of the electoral campaign as amongst the 'intellectuals' was the persuasive propaganda of sweet economic reasonableness conducted with the same purpose by the Chancellor's able coadjutor, Herr Dernburg, the new director of the Colonial department. Herr Dernburg's appointment to that office last summer was in itself an event, for never before had a mere banker, unconnected with the bureaucracy, of Jewish extraction, and professing in many directions quite advanced opinions, been pitchforked into one of the most responsible offices of the State.

In the stormy debates which preceded the dissolution, the brand-new 'Excellency,' and 'Real Privy Councillor' more than held his own; and during the electoral campaign his strong personality asserted itself with almost Bismarckian force. Herr Dernburg's speeches during the recent struggle seem indeed to have been very closely modelled on Mr Chamberlain's; and, though he had the disadvantage of being compelled to make heavy drafts upon the imagination of his audiences in order to kindle their enthusiasm for a Greater Germany beyond the seas—which is still a dream of the future rather than a present fact—he had, on the other hand, this advantage over his English exemplar that his economic arguments were not repugnant to German economic traditions or practice. His favourite thesis was that German colonial policy means nothing more nor less than the question of the future of German labour, the question of bread for many millions of industrial workers, the question of an adequate outlet for German capital in trade, industry, and navigation. He was quite willing on occasions to flavour his lectures with a little chauvinistic spice, as when he quoted Moser to the effect that, if the old Germanic Empire had stood by the Hansa cities, not Clive but a Hamburger would have ruled on the Ganges; but on the whole he preferred to dwell with German

'objectivity' on the material rather than the sentimental aspects of colonial expansion.

It was left to the Navy League to thump the big drum. How effectively it was thumped we know now from the very inconvenient revelations made by one of the South German organs of the Centre, which obtained possession of correspondence between General Keim and Prince Salm, the president of the Navy League. No less than 15,000,000 leaflets were distributed by its agency during the electoral campaign, which it conducted in close consultation with Prince Bülow; and, whilst Herr Dernburg pleaded for the sinking of party and sectarian differences, General Keim boasted of the *furor protestanticus* which the Navy League had aroused amongst the 'Philistines' against the Roman Catholic Centre, and concocted, with the Chancellor's approval, virulent pamphlets against one of the most prominent leaders of that party under the amiable title of 'Herr Erzberger's lies.' The German Navy League is not, like its British prototype, an independent association, frowned upon rather than encouraged by an Admiralty impatient of being lectured both in and out of season. It basks in the sunshine of official and Imperial favour; it is patronised by princes and ministers; even in the schools it carries on an active propaganda under the benevolent eye of the Ministry of Public Instruction; and in all ranks of society membership is counted unto civic righteousness. It already numbers over a million members, and it has unquestionably supplied a large part of the steam-pressure required to carry the Government's Navy Bills through the Reichstag. Its unwritten motto might well be, 'Censeo delendam esse Britanniam'; and it embodies all the chauvinistic forms of German Imperialism, which the authorities find it convenient to encourage at home and to disavow abroad. With the Pan-German League, which paints the map of Europe German from the mouth of the Scheldt to the Adriatic, and from the Gulf of Finland to the lower reaches of the Danube, and the Colonial Society, which is equally busy plotting out in the future a Greater Germany beyond the seas, it represents a social and political force in the domain of foreign policy at least equal to that which the Primrose League, in its palmiest

days, represented in this country in the domain of home politics. Prince Bülow has not hitherto proved himself a great statesman, but he is singularly astute and resourceful. In forcing a dissolution, for the first time in German history, on a distinctly colonial issue, and in keeping the claims of German 'world-policy' persistently before the country throughout the electoral campaign, he certainly hit upon the greatest common denominator for all the fractions out of which he could alone hope to create a majority in the new Reichstag.

The Conservatives, who form an essentially Prussian party, recruited indeed for the most part from the oldest provinces of the kingdom of Prussia, are apt to look on colonial expansion with much the same suspicion with which they formerly viewed the merging of Prussia into the new German Empire. For not only may colonial expansion conflict some day with their agrarian interests, but it is mixed up with financial and industrial influences utterly repugnant to their own caste prejudices. On the other hand, they are too closely bound up with the bureaucracy to have any real will of their own; and their traditions of unswerving loyalty to the throne can always be trusted to overcome their misgivings when once they are told, on such high authority as the Imperial Chancellor's, that the military honour of Germany is at stake. The National Liberals long ago surrendered at Bismarck's bidding the liberalism which they once hoped to reconcile with the robust nationalism of a united Germany. It has survived only in their traditional hatred of clericalism, which was perhaps intensified by the inglorious ending of the *Culturkampf*. A quarrel between the Government and the Roman Catholic Centre would therefore probably in itself have sufficed to stimulate their zeal. How much more so when the quarrel occurred in connexion with that colonial policy of which they have always been the most enthusiastic champions! For, sadly shrunken as are their ranks, the National Liberals have their chief strongholds in the industrial districts of Middle Germany; and their leaders are mostly connected with the world of commerce and finance, which owe so large a measure of their prosperity to the enormous expansion of German trade and navigation under the new orientation of German *Weltpolitik*. Similar con-

siderations helped, if perhaps in a lesser degree, to bring the three Radical groups into line with the Government, which they fondly hoped would be ultimately compelled to seek the support of the Left, if the reactionary alliance between the Conservatives and the Centre was once broken up. Just as, in the earlier days of the present reign, one of those groups voted for Count von Caprivi's Army Bills in 1893 rather than run the risk of driving the Emperor back into the arms of the reactionary parties, so on this occasion all three Radical groups threw in their lot with Prince Bülow, lest their opposition should drive him to a fresh compact with the Centre.

The colonial issue did not, however, serve merely to promote an incongruous alliance between political parties otherwise fundamentally antagonistic to each other. It undoubtedly brought into the field a large number of new voters who had hitherto held aloof from party politics, and it appealed especially to the rising generation which is gradually attaining to the franchise. That generation has been brought up in the atmosphere of rampant chauvinism which has developed in Germany with such startling rapidity since William II embarked on his grandiose schemes of world-policy. The intervention of Germany in the Far East after the war between China and Japan in 1895, and, a few months later, her demonstrative assertion of interest in South African affairs after the Jameson raid, may be said to have marked the beginning of that great evolution which led in turn to the seizure of Kiaochau by the 'mailed fist' in 1897, to the sensational despatch of the German expeditionary force to China in 1900, to the prolonged outbreak of unmeasured Anglophobia throughout Germany during the Boer war, to the calculated benevolence towards Russia of German neutrality during the struggle in Manchuria, and finally, to the Moroccan adventure and the conflict with France and England at Algeciras.

We are apt in this country to measure the success of German *Weltpolitik* by the many diplomatic rebuffs and disappointments which it has hitherto incurred. But the Germans have, in common with us, and perhaps in a greater degree than we ourselves at present possess it, the virtue of perseverance and tenacity. Failure has

so far merely stimulated them to fresh efforts. Moreover, it has not been all failure. In the field of diplomacy, no doubt, the Emperor cannot boast any very brilliant achievements. But on the other side of the balance-sheet he can point to the enormous expansion of German trade and industry, to the creation of a powerful navy and a yet more powerful mercantile marine, to the growing power of German finance, to vast railway enterprises in distant lands where, but a generation ago, Germany's name had scarcely been heard of, to the conquest of Germany's right to a 'place in the sun,' wherever the international struggle for existence may yet be waged. With the steady transformation of modern Germany into a great industrial and commercial State, whose population, moreover, grows by leaps and bounds, the demand for new markets, for fresh outlets for the trained and highly-equipped energies of the German people, rejuvenated by national unity, is bound to increase; and a large and influential section of the people is convinced that the demand can only be satisfied, as it was satisfied under similar conditions during the last three centuries in England, by a colonial Empire and such sea-power as, according to the preamble of the Navy Bill, none shall challenge with impunity. It was to that public opinion that Prince Bülow appealed at the recent elections even more than to the political parties whose traditions are still rooted in an older and narrower order of things; and it is to that public opinion that he owes the relative success of his electoral venture.

This conclusion is largely borne out by a comparison between the different fortunes of the two opposition parties in the struggle. The Centre has never displayed any real hostility to Germany's world-policy. On the contrary, it is with the help and support of the Centre that that policy has been carried on for years past. The quarrel which arose last autumn over certain incidental aspects of colonial policy was originally nothing more than a *querelle de famille*. Even after the final rupture the Chancellor was careful not to direct his chief attack against the Centre. He left it to General Keim and other subordinate agents to arouse the *furor protestanticus* against the Blacks; and his cue was to speak rather in sorrow than in anger of the strange aberration which

had driven them into an unholy alliance with the Reds. It was upon the Social Democrats that he poured out the full vials of his wrath, and from his point of view rightly; for they were the only party that was, and always had been, irreconcilably opposed to German world-policy in all its aspects. How far its opposition to that policy may account for the severe check which it encountered at the elections there is as yet no sufficient evidence to show. Many other circumstances contributed to it. There have of late years been serious and growing dissensions in the ranks of German Social Democracy. The struggle between the old revolutionary and the younger evolutionary school has grown steadily more acute. It represents a very interesting and instructive chapter in the history of socialism, to which want of space, however, forbids more than a passing reference. The revolt of the 'revisionists' against the doctrinaire rigidity of Marxism has been only superficially arrested by the stern discipline which the control of the party machinery still enables the veteran leaders to enforce. Some of the rebels have been content for the moment to be out-voted at the party congresses, but others have seceded; and disaffection is rife amongst the rank and file, who are beginning to doubt the wisdom of a policy of mere negation which yields no practical results. The Social Democrats in the last Reichstag were numerically the second strongest party in the House, yet their opposition proved as barren as in any former Parliament. The unparalleled industrial prosperity of Germany during the last few years may also have acted as a solvent. In a country where there are practically no unemployed, and emigration has almost ceased, the conditions are not favourable to a party which thrives above all upon distress and discontent; and it is significant that during the electoral campaign little was heard of the *Fleischnoth* which had only recently bulked so large in the columns of the Socialist press. Amongst the intelligent proletariat there were apparently not a few to whom the economic arguments in favour of colonial expansion appealed very forcibly. To them it chiefly meant more markets abroad and therefore more work at home. It is doubtful whether even militarism is as repugnant to the Social Democratic masses as their leaders would have us believe.

Still, when all is said, the 'rout of the Socialists' at the polls was more apparent than real. In 1903 the luck was with them, and on that occasion it redressed to some extent in their favour the heavy odds against which they have to fight under the present electoral system. In 1907 the luck has been against them, and has aggravated those odds. In Saxony, for instance, they carried in 1903 every seat but one—twenty-two out of twenty-three. That was unquestionably an abnormal triumph, due largely to the fact that the elections followed closely upon a sensational scandal at the Saxon Court, which Socialism exploited to the utmost. This year they only carried eight seats in Saxony, a net loss of fourteen seats in one State, and that State, be it noted, one of the chief industrial regions in the country. Elsewhere they have lost a number of seats by the same narrow majorities by which they won them in 1903. If we take the German Empire as a whole, the Socialist tide has not, indeed, ceased to rise, but it has risen less rapidly and with less uniformity. So Prince Bülow can legitimately boast that, if the Centre, which was driven as it were only incidentally into opposition to a forward colonial policy, emerges unbroken from the struggle, the Social Democrats, who are the only fundamentally and permanently irreconcilable party, have suffered such a number of partial defeats and such heavy casualties that, though not by any means driven off the field, their fighting strength is for the moment severely crippled, if not wholly shattered.

What use will Prince Bülow make of his success? The elections have awakened great expectations and also many apprehensions. The Chancellor coquetted just enough with the Liberal groups to alarm the Conservatives; and the assurances required to comfort the Conservatives went just far enough to keep the Radicals at any rate watchful and suspicious. On questions of tariff and taxation, and on questions of domestic and especially of educational legislation, as well as in all those matters of internal administration in which the influence of the Government makes itself so widely and directly felt in a bureaucratic country like Germany, Prince Bülow cannot well move any distance either to the right or to the left without endangering the delicate equipoise of a parliamentary *bloc*, comprising Agrarians

and Industrialists, Anti-Semites and Semitic Radicals, evangelical Conservatives and free-thinking Liberals, not to speak of the more purely political lines of cleavage between the parties which make up the 'Hottentot mosaic.'

To keep his majority in good humour in the new Reichstag the Chancellor has already had to widen the breach between himself and the Centre, though in the Prussian Diet he is still absolutely dependent on the Centre, and the difficulty of running two Parliaments simultaneously on different lines of policy is one that must severely tax even Prince Bülow's legerdemain. Any irreparable and permanent breach between the Imperial Government and the Roman Catholic Centre would, moreover, have grave consequences, not only for the parliamentary situation, but for the Empire itself; for the Centre more than any other party stands not only for a creed, but for ancient and profound differences of national temperament. There is no more dangerous line of cleavage between parties than a geographical line. Take an electoral map of Germany, and you will see that the Centre practically dominates western and southern Germany; i.e. draw a line running south-east from the Dutch border on the North Sea to the point where Bavaria and Saxony meet on the Austrian frontier, and to the west of that line the Centre forms a great though not unbroken mass, whilst to the east of it throughout Middle Germany and Prussia proper, it vanishes entirely to reappear only in the Prussian provinces of Poland and Silesia, on the borderland of Russia and Austria. It is no small matter for the Chancellor of a Federal Empire to have aroused the active hostility of a party which represents not only a powerful religious minority in the whole Empire, but all the old political particularism and anti-Prussian sentiment, scotched but by no means yet killed, of the South German States, as well as the militant separatism of unassimilated nationalities like the Poles and the people of Alsace-Lorraine.

If Prince Bülow is to hold his *bloc* together against the Centre as well as against the Social Democrats, the one common platform upon which he can hope to keep it united is that on which he fought the elections, namely, world-policy—the policy of ascendancy in Europe

and of colonial expansion beyond the seas, which must be dependent upon increasing sea-power. Yet the present juncture is scarcely favourable for the development of an aggressive world-policy. International diplomacy, rendered more than ever suspicious by the tortuous and threatening methods which were adopted at Algeciras, will be on the watch. The Anglo-Russian understanding which, it may be hoped, is on the eve of conclusion, will tend, like the Anglo-French *entente*, to restore more and more the balance of power in Europe. The British fleet still commands the ocean highways; and, in principle at least, the Liberal Government in this country is just as much pledged as its predecessors to maintain our naval supremacy. Until, at any rate, the Peace Conference is over, General Keim will have to wait for 'the sensible Navy Bill' which was to be the reward of the German Navy League's services during the elections. So far as can be judged from Prince Bülow's recent utterances, Germany's cue for the present is to disarm the suspicions which her foreign policy has of late years aroused. But how long can these counsels of prudence prevail against the aggressive temper which has been deliberately fostered for years past and worked up to a white heat during the electoral campaign—a temper which, moreover, is not merely the outcome of sentimental chauvinism, but of a reasoned belief in the material exigencies of Germany's national development? How long can a Chancellor, who is little more than the adroit servant of an imperious master, restrain—even if he has the will to do so—the impulsiveness of a sovereign who has publicly declared that 'the future of Germany is on the sea,' and for whom the chief moral of the recent elections is that the German people must 'ride down whatever stands in our way'? That is the grave question into which the story of those elections resolves itself for foreign observers; and it is one which should be nowhere more seriously pondered than in this country.

Art. V.—FREDERIC WILLIAM MAITLAND.

1. *Pleas of the Crown for the County of Gloucester, etc.* Edited by F. W. Maitland. London: Macmillan, 1884.
2. *Bracton's Note-book.* Three vols. By the same. London: Clay, 1887.
3. *Domesday Book and Beyond.* By the same. Cambridge: University Press, 1897.
4. *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England.* By the same. London: Methuen, 1898.
5. *Township and Borough.* By the same. Cambridge: University Press, 1898.
6. *Political Theories of the Middle Age.* By Otto Gierke. Translated, with an introduction, by F. W. Maitland. Cambridge: University Press, 1900.
7. *English Law and the Renaissance.* By the same. Cambridge: University Press, 1901.
8. *Selden Society Publications: Select Pleas of the Crown, 1888; Select Pleas in Manorial, etc., Courts, 1889; The Court Baron, 1891; The Mirror of Justices, 1895; Bracton and Azo, 1895; Year-books of Edward II, 1903-5.* Edited by F. W. Maitland. (Three vols published.)
9. *History of English Law before the time of Edward I.* By Sir F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland. Two vols. Cambridge: University Press, 1895. (Second edition 1898.)

And other works.

WHEN a man departs this life they say of him in the Gaelic that he is in the way of truth. The saying, it would seem, is double-edged, leaving faith, hope, or charity to surmise, as the case may admit, whether the enlightenment will be welcome or the reverse. At any rate we may read it as including a pious opinion that, according as in this world the soul has held fast to the best way of truth it could find, so it shall have the more profit of the truth to be opened beyond. 'Beati qui verum quærunt' is a blessing in which all lovers of learning may join, whatever be their creeds and schools. If ever a scholar earned that blessing by diligently seeking for truth and generously imparting the fruits of his search to others, it was Frederic William Maitland, sometime Downing Professor of the Laws of England at Cambridge,

whom we lost in the darkness of December, struck down by an early blast of winter in the very moment of seeking refuge, as he had done for seven winters before, in a more equable climate.

We have many students capable of good work in research when they know what to look for, and some capable of discovering the right lines of enquiry for themselves. We have a fair number whose range of knowledge, intellectual training, and sense of proportion enable them to draw general conclusions of some value from their materials when obtained. We have a considerable number who can give an intelligible exposition of their own or other men's results, and some who can do this in a manner attractive to students of their subject if not to a larger public. But very few have at any time combined all these powers in any high degree. Maitland combined them in the highest. A patient and indefatigable explorer, an exact scholar, a deep thinker, and the most brilliant expounder of his time, he seemed always to be doing the one thing he could do best; and it is impossible to decide in what aspect his genius was most distinguished.

If I speak with some confidence about Maitland's work, it is because I watched it from the first, was intimately acquainted with it for more than twenty years, have been in part associated with it, and know by my own experience what the puzzles and pitfalls of such work are. His example has already been fruitful; and he leaves younger workers who may be called his pupils with substantial truth, if not in the strict academic sense. The best of all such, however, was Mary Bateson of Cambridge, who was carried off by sudden illness a few weeks before her master. Almost the last words he wrote for publication were a tribute to her memory. To consider why Maitland did not leave any formed school in the proper sense would be to consider the great 'useful knowledge' illusion which infested the world in the days of our fathers' youth, and some of its disastrous consequences. It would involve an exposure of the perversity which led our university reformers—well-meaning, highly respectable, and even learned persons—to multiply examinations at the expense of knowledge, and practically, though not wilfully, to discourage original work in every

possible way. So it is that when a teacher like Maitland comes once in two or three generations, we have nothing better to do with him than to set him serving the tables of Triposes and grinding in the mills of boards and syndicates. If he wants to increase knowledge and to be a pioneer in new fields, he may do it in his odd time; and, if younger people want to learn from him things which do not pay in examinations, their college tutors will rebuke their improvidence.

I am not now to write Maitland's biography or to attempt a presentation of his personal character and qualities beyond what is useful for understanding the work he achieved. In course of time it may be done by or with the consent of those who have the right to decide; but the time is not yet, nor is this the place. The dates necessary or convenient for the present purpose are best given in the words of Maitland's own application for the Downing professorship, written in June 1888.

'I am thirty-eight years old; I was a Foundation Scholar of Trinity College and took the bachelor's degree in 1873, having been placed at the head of the Moral Sciences Tripos [1872: he was also an International Law Scholar on Whewell's foundation].* In 1876 I was called to the Bar by the Society of Lincoln's Inn, and from that time until 1884 I sought practice as a conveyancer. In 1884 the Readership of English Law was founded, and I was appointed to the office; that office I still hold.'

At Eton he had not made any distinguished mark, for classical scholarship did not attract him, and history was not then a recognised study at public schools. He was one of those boys who do not fit into any accustomed groove of either learning or games, though at Cambridge he was known as a good walker and runner, and I can bear witness to his later vigour in walks across country; but, if he made few school friends, he had no enemies.

Not only did Maitland show no marked sign of ability at school, but he was some time at Cambridge before he discovered an intellectual vocation; and his first preference was not for history or law, but for philosophy. Henry Sidgwick, founder and fosterer of many good

* It may be useful to note that a like name appearing in the Law Tripos of 1873 is another man's.

things at Cambridge, gave the first impulse. Maitland was his pupil; and their intercourse led, in the words of the informant on whom I rely for this time, to prompt mutual discovery. The resulting affection for philosophy did not become a passion; but it was not superficial or fruitless. So late as 1883, when Maitland was already preparing the work that first proved his mastery of historical method, he was contributing to 'Mind' articles of solid analytical criticism on Herbert Spencer's theory of society; and at one time he lectured on the English philosophers 'to small but enthusiastic audiences' in London. The criticism on Spencer is restrained in style, almost to austerity; probably it was toned down by the respect of a young critic. He allowed himself epigram only on collateral points; for example, on Coleridge's proof that the right to property was 'abstractedly deducible from the free agency of man': 'We may doubt whether a kind of property, the *esse* of which is *abstrahi*, can be of much value to its owner.' I have not been able to trace any specially philosophic writing of later date. But it is certain that no man without philosophic training could have taken as it were in his stride, as Maitland afterwards did, the scholastic ideas and the intricate developments of canon law, still less have grasped the essential points and demonstrated the historical and practical importance of the controversies on the nature of corporate societies, blissfully ignored or despised by most English lawyers, which have exercised great wits on the Continent for many generations. Metaphysic is justified of her children, even in England.

But we must return to Cambridge days. While Maitland was learning to be a philosopher he gradually became known as a brilliant speaker and talker, with what our ancestors called a pretty wit, and also an individual and singularly effective power of using any humorous aspect of his subject. He was among the leaders of the movement for opening, or rather reopening, the Cambridge Union on Sunday. (There had been battles royal on the same matter some years before, 'quorum pars parva fui,' with no final result.) Maitland's party discovered that the old resolution for Sunday closing—a resolution in fact imposed on the Union by higher academic authority—had not been carried by the

two-thirds majority required for altering a rule. True, it had been confirmed over and over again by express and implied recognition. But what of that? Direct attack did not look promising, and a surprise was worth trying. Solemn debate in a full house ensued; the vote seemed doubtful. Then Maitland intervened. Putting aside as irrelevant all the general arguments that had been used, he simply asked by what authority the Union had been closed, and, having elicited the facts, spoke words like these, vouched for in substance by a contemporary who was present as an officer of the Union:

'The question is really one of simple arithmetic. All the colours put upon it by the zeal of our opponents are irrelevant. The question is whether 77 is or is not twice as many as 58.* Now do please suppose that you were in for your Little-go, and that the question were asked, and that you answered, "Yes, 77 is as much as twice 58." Do you think that the examiner would give you an A? Do you think he would give you a B? or a C? Would he not rather express his simple judgment in one concentrated D?'

The unarithmetical prohibition was swept away in the torrent of laughter which had been rising as the speaker put his questions with the air of candid gravity remembered by all his friends. A later day came when Sidgwick's wisdom, allied with Maitland's eloquence, failed to carry a more serious vote; but nobody heard again of a special women's university to supply the demand for women's degrees after Maitland had labelled it as the Bletchley Junction Academy. Another time some one maintained in a private discussion that the householding of future civilisation was to be coenobitic. Maitland was not attracted by the common dining-hall and the collective kitchen. 'The best thing I ever heard about heaven,' he said, 'is that there are many mansions there; and I hope we shall have one apiece.'

Maitland was of the Cambridge society commonly called the Apostles, 'best beloved of all the brotherhood by those who knew him best,' as a fully qualified witness has already said. When he was a resident member there

* The numbers referred to were those of that old vote by which the resolution in favour of closing had been passed; the exact figures and proportion are not warranted and are immaterial

was very little published information about that society; now there is much, some of it accurate.* I have nothing to add in that behalf; but I must recall in gratitude that, as it had done in the case of my seniors, Maine and Fitz-james Stephen, this bond made friendship with Maitland quicker and easier. I did not see much of him till he settled in London for professional work; then it did not take long to discover that this young barrister of Lincoln's Inn was a great deal more than a sound lawyer with scholarly tastes, and would not be content to be simply a learned conveyancer using humane letters as his recreation.

In 1879 the 'Westminster Review,' at that time still the accredited organ of speculative Liberalism, had an unsigned article on the reform of English real property law. Some old-fashioned Radicals must have rubbed their eyes over it. The writer did not weigh the heir-at-law in the orthodox Benthamite scales of utility and find him wanting; he showed him among his fossil companions, the people of Salic and Burgundian dark ages, as a historical anomaly. The first book on the list at the head of the article was Brunner's 'Das anglo-normannische Erbfolgesystem.' This reforming English lawyer, who could not only seek out and master German monographs on Anglo-Norman law, but distil their essence into joyful epigrams, was bewrayed by his speech as well as his learning. There was not more than one such person. I cannot remember whether I knew anything about this essay of Maitland's before publication; at any rate there was no need to have the authorship confirmed by him, and it would have been useless for him to deny it. What I do well remember is the impression made on me by the brilliance of the writing and the extraordinary range of learning shown by so young a man—he was of three years' standing at the bar. A few lines on the survival of primogeniture and marital right in the common law will serve as a sample:

'Really, when we think of the many destructive forces which at one time—of course long ago—threatened to deprive the male sex of its just prerogative, it seems little more than an

* Our latest instructor believes that the society lasted till 1840. His belief is correct so far as it goes, and his caution abundant.

accident, little less than a miracle, that our law of inheritance came safely through those revolutionary Dark Ages. There was the Church arrayed on the side of women; and of the meddlesome canon law all diligent readers of Blackstone know what to think. There was the civil law, including those improper Novels which even English judges are suspected of having perused in private.'

By this time Maitland and I were fast friends and allies. He was a man with a genius for history, who turned its light upon law because law, being his profession, came naturally into the field. I was a lawyer who had found it impossible to understand English law without much more of historical criticism than was current, or indeed would have been thought decent, in the received text-books. On the whole we were pursuing the same objects with complete agreement as to method, and for about twenty-five years—the rest of his life—we continued to exchange our ideas with the utmost freedom even when we were not actually working together. At first we seemed likely enough to cry in the wilderness all or most of our days. In 1881 Mr Oliver Wendell Holmes, junior, now Justice Holmes of the Supreme Court of the United States, published 'The Common Law,' a work of independent speculation and historical research which at this day is classical; two years later the library committee of Lincoln's Inn, after inspection—for it must be presumed that, as a copy of the book was put before them, some one did look at it—refused to buy it. Such a blunder, one may trust, is no longer possible; if any man more than others brought about a happier state in the Inns of Court, it was Maitland. There must after all be something, it appeared, in a line of study which produced work so brilliant and novel as to attract even unlearned readers, and so thoroughly sound as not only to be untouched by criticism, but on occasion to convince learned persons who were predisposed against the results.

Lawyers do not need to be told that no mere antiquary's learning could have borne such fruit. Maitland was a well-trained modern lawyer, and indeed he expounded our modern system of 'Justice and Police' in a handbook of that title published in the 'English Citizen' series in 1885. The chapters dealing with the superior courts are of permanent value, though later legislation

has put some other portions out of date. In this book the common notice-board asserting that trespassers will be prosecuted was denounced as, 'if strictly construed, a wooden falsehood'; but the justice of the common law does not punish a naked lie, and the mendacious form has not become less common. Towards the end of the book is a wholesome corrective for a vulgar error which has done mischief, and still does it. 'Law presumes that the prisoner is innocent until he is found guilty, but it were well to wager four to one that the jury will be satisfied of his guilt.'

Doubtless Maitland could have written excellent modern law-books. We cannot regret that he did not, for he spent his energy where there was the greatest need of it. Three years later he did write a kind of informal supplement to 'Justice and Police.' It was an article entitled 'The Shallows and Silences of Real Life,' contributed to J. K. Stephen's short-lived weekly 'Reflector.' County councils had been born, and Maitland made a funeral oration for government by justices of the peace. 'Shallow, as they call him, is at worst an anomaly, and Silence is obviously an anachronism in this eloquent nineteenth century. . . . Of course, we can all, when occasion serves, make merry over justices' justice; but if we look at the history of this justice as a whole we see that it has been marvellously, paradoxically successful.' The paper seems, on the face of it, lightly thrown off to please a friend; yet we catch in it something of the true historian's secret, the mind that, in looking backward, never forgets to look forward.

Maitland's proper and unique work as a legal historian begins with his edition of the Crown side of a Gloucestershire eyre roll of 1221. Why Gloucestershire? Because it was his own country; partly, too, we may think, because the west country was in a special manner the bailiwick of Henry of Bratton (such was his real name, as the late Mr Horwood had found and Maitland confirmed) and of his masters. It would be foolish to deny that Maitland learnt much between the time when he edited these Pleas of the Crown and the time when he was editing the Year Books of Edward II. He was of the scholars who are always learning. But when one reflects that really no document of this kind had been

adequately edited—I think we might say at all, except so far as some of the early so-called ‘Year Books’ dealt with by Mr Horwood resemble it, which is not much—and when one looks back at the mature method and sure touch of Maitland’s introduction, it is astonishing.

Only three years passed before these ‘Pleas of the Crown’ were followed by ‘Bracton’s Note-book.’ This, like its forerunner, was a purely individual enterprise. It would be hard to find elsewhere such results achieved by one scholar in what spare time he could make and at his own cost; it will perhaps be hard for posterity to believe that in England, near the end of Queen Victoria’s reign, a document of capital historical importance had to be edited thus or not at all. We may now barely recall the facts that this British Museum MS. certainly contains a large portion of the materials relied on in Bracton’s treatise (the first endeavour at a systematic treatise on English law), was almost certainly compiled by Bracton, or under his direction, and is full of annotations probably due to no other hand; that Prof. Vinogradoff of Moscow, whom we have now happily annexed, pointed out the character and probable origin of the MS. in 1884; and that Maitland worked out in detail the argument which justifies his title, besides the labour of transcription (almost all done by his own hand), revision for the press, and addition of full indexes and concise but most apt and useful notes. Here, too, Maitland was not content with the part of a cloistered student. History and law, for him, were concerned with real people in real places. Henry of Bratton he might not see, but Henry of Bratton’s country he could. The records sent him to the ordnance map, and the ordnance map to the very ground, or to an excellent memory of journeyings already accomplished on it. It would be pleasant (if considerations of space allowed it) to quote at length a page of his introduction, which should be dear to all men of Devon, on the beatitude of walking round the dwelling-places of Bracton and his suitors. ‘Many questions are solved by walking. *Beati omnes qui ambulant.*’

In this introduction Maitland struck, for the first time, a note of indignant regret, which he was to strike yet once and again—lastly in this Review barely three years ago. He could never acquiesce in the indifference of

England, the richest nation in the world, to her own historical treasures.

'We have been embarrassed by our riches, our untold riches. The nation put its hand to the work and turned back faint-hearted. Foreigners print their records; we, it must be supposed, have too many records to be worth printing; so there they lie, these invaluable materials for the history of the English people, unread, unknown, almost untouched save by the makers of pedigrees.'

And he warns us that one day, if Bracton is not properly edited by an Englishman, it will be done by a foreigner. Scholars may read between the lines, here and there, what Maitland thought of the so-called edition for which the Record Office and the late Sir Travers Twiss were answerable; he refrained in charity from quite saying it in public. A year later Maitland returns, in his inaugural lecture at Cambridge, to the 'danger lest the history of English law should be better known and better taught in other countries than in England.' Annexation has begun. He alludes to Dr Liebermann's edition of the Anglo-Saxon laws, then already spoken of.

'Foreigners know that the history of our law has a peculiar interest . . . a great part of the best work that has been done has not been done by Englishmen. Of what has been done in America we will say nothing, for in this context we cannot treat the Americans as foreigners; our law is their law; at times we can even be cosmopolitan enough to regret an arrangement of the universe which has placed our records in one hemisphere and those who would make the best use of them in another. And all foreigners are welcome, Frenchmen and Germans and Russians; there is room enough and to spare; still we are the children of the kingdom, and I do not see why we should cast ourselves out. But we are such a humble nation, we are. It is easy to persuade us that the early history of Roman law is interesting. To know all about the Roman formulary system, that is juristic science; to know anything about our own formulary system, which we only abolished the other day, that would be barbarian pedantry. But foreigners do not take this view.'

Why the average English lawyer's mind, till quite lately, was profoundly unhistorical, and the average English historian was no less innocent of law—these are questions

Maitland did not fail to consider; but we cannot now follow him in them, save to note that, as he said in this Review, 'where schools of law do not flourish, the history of law will not be adequately studied.'

Meanwhile the Selden Society was founded in 1887, 'to encourage the study and advance the knowledge of the history of English law.' Maitland was one of the founders; and from the beginning he was in fact the moving spirit of the society's work, as later he was its director in form. Thus it came about that Maitland gave us a series of introductions and editions comparable to no other work of scholarship in England than Bishop Stubbs' introductions to the chronicles, and unique in the amount of highly technical work on which they are based. These introductions are brilliant contributions to our historical literature—for they *are* literature, and not only monuments of learning; I believe Maitland could have made literature of Colenso's Arithmetic. Shall we dwell on the 'Select Pleas in Manorial Courts,' where he robbed the word 'feudal' of its mysterious terrors by showing that the essence of feudalism is not tenure alone, nor jurisdiction alone, but jurisdiction inseparably attached to tenure? or on the delightful rusticity of the 'Court Baron,' a book of precedents written in French, probably the working language of the Court in the fourteenth century, if not later, and translated by Maitland himself with minute care? or on the scherzo in the suite, that wilfully and justifiably comic exposure of the fantastic enigma called the 'Mirror of Justices'? Maitland loved music and knew a good deal about it. I think he would have accepted my designation. At last the feather-headed clerk from foreign parts who wrote that book (for I can hardly think him an Englishman—surely not an Englishman who knew anything of practice) had not scribbled in vain. But the favourite among scholars, perhaps, should be 'Bracton and Azo,' in which Maitland settled the true relations of the treatise we know as Bracton to Roman law and Italian learning, and incidentally showed how Bracton will have to be edited one day. It was a matter that needed putting straight, for no less a man than Sir Henry Maine had spoken of it unadvisedly or followed bad advice.

Last came the 'Year Books of Edward II,' on which

Maitland was at work to the end of his life, and of which three volumes are published. Other men had edited unpublished MSS. of 'Year Books' before, and done it very well. This was a really more laborious task—that of restoring a very ill-printed text with the aid of MS. authorities. Most editors would have thought it enough to do the work and preface it with a few pages of general information and notices of interesting cases in the book, perhaps to guard themselves with an 'it is said' when they suspected the evidence for current stories of being too thin. Not so Maitland. He not only demolished but pulverised the legend put about by Coke and Bacon*—agreeing for once to deceive the public—that the Year Books were official and authorised reports; and he investigated the Anglo-French dialect of the early fourteenth century so thoroughly that M. Paul Meyer recommends his introduction to all students of medieval French. Moreover, he rescued from oblivion a notable professional character, that of Chief Justice Bereford, a strong judge who could be merry on the bench, and whose jests are indeed not always reproducible in polite English. It must be added that even those publications of the Selden Society which do not bear Maitland's name owe much to his guidance and counsel. To the same class of work belongs the volume of 'Memoranda de Parlamento' (A.D. 1305), published in the Rolls series in 1893.

It is not easy for me to say much of the 'History of English Law before the time of Edward I' which Maitland and I published together. The order of the names on the title-page is, according to usage, that of seniority at the bar; but a note to the preface has already recorded that Maitland's share was far the greater. I may now add that when we began to talk over the plan it was he who saw clearly that the time was ripe to attempt a general reconstruction of the common law as Edward I found it, and that this was worth doing, though some parts would have to be left more in the rough than others. As Maitland was at Cambridge and I was in London, I never saw him actually at work, and

* Plowden is commonly vouched as its author, but I now gravely doubt whether Plowden was thinking of the Year Books at all.

whenever we compared notes I was surprised at the speed he made, with no such aid from pupils as a German or American professor would have, and very little clerical assistance of any kind; and this notwithstanding that hardly ever could a page be written without much reference and verification. What we thought most of was to make our book a sure foundation for the next generation to build on, and already it is fulfilling this purpose. Younger men, too, will have to consider whether the law of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries needs to be handled on the same scale. It cannot be done very soon in any case, for Maitland's three volumes of Year Books, and the several volumes which Mr Pike has edited from time to time for the Record Office, are only the beginning of setting the materials in order. There need be no haste, for the outline of the story from Edward I downwards is pretty well known, and no very gross mistakes have remained current in recent times. I must quote a few sentences of Maitland's, the last in our book, as an example of his graver style, and as explaining how far the writer's motives went beyond the mere antiquary's curiosity.

'We have stood at the parting of the ways of the two most vigorous systems of law that the modern world has seen, the French and the English. . . . Which country made the wiser choice, no Frenchman and no Englishman can impartially say: no one should be judge in his own cause. But of this there can be no doubt, that it was for the good of the whole world that one race stood apart from its neighbours, turned away its eyes at an early time from the fascinating pages of the *'Corpus Iuris,'* and, more Roman than the Romanists, made the grand experiment of a new formulary system. Nor can we part with this age without thinking once more of the permanence of its work. Those few men who were gathered at Westminster round Pateshull and Raleigh and Bracton were penning writs that would run in the name of kingless commonwealths on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean; they were making right and wrong for us and for our children.'

The researches undertaken by Maitland for the purposes of our joint work led to offshoots which in the next few years became books. If any Romanist reader is led to think of the successive gemmations of Ihering's *'Geist des römischen Rechts,'* he may note that in

Maitland's case the outgrowth was not of large desultory works overshadowing and hampering the original undertaking and never getting finished themselves, but of clean-cut monographs, following in orderly course as 'good suit' to their leader. One such monograph came out between the first and second editions of the History; two bear the same date as the second. There had been a Domesday commemoration in 1886, learned readers may remember, where more and less ingenious and much conflicting contributions jostled one another. Down to that time Domesday Book, accessible in print and indexed only since the end of the eighteenth century, had been a mysterious fortress not only untaken, but unassailable by any known rules of art. It was Mr J. H. Round who discovered the right point of attack and opened an effective battery. Maitland came later to reinforce him. When the breach was practicable and the assault was delivered, it would be hard to say which of the two storming parties was in advance. It is certain that no third leader was with Round and Maitland, and that Maitland thoroughly reduced the remaining defences and completed the occupation. Mr Round's 'Feudal England' (1895) and Maitland's 'Domesday Book and Beyond' (1897) will long be the capital authorities for every student who wishes to labour in the field of Anglo-Norman tenure and economics (where there are still plenty of details to be worked out) with a mind clear of fables.

A year later there followed a volume of essays on a very different subject, the position of canon law in England before the Reformation. Here it may be said, with more certainty than we can now attach to the original occasion of Dante's line, that Maitland 'sillogizzò invidiosi veri.' For he attacked a theory which was accepted, not only by one section of Anglican opinion, but by our leaders in historical science—the theory that the Church under Roman obedience in England was still a national and in some measure autonomous Church, and obeyed the specific orders of the Roman See so far only as they were received within Anglican jurisdiction; in other words, that England was an ecclesiastical *pays de droit coutumier*. This was a patriotic, a comfortable and, above all, an anti-Romanist doctrine—we must not say Protestant, because that epithet has of late years acquired other controversial

connotations which are not to the present purpose. Maitland had no prejudice one way or the other, but having been led perforce into the books of canon law by the historical question of the 'Nolumus,' and such branches of learning, he read Lyndwood for himself. What he found is best indicated by the words he puts into Lyndwood's mouth as the probable answer to any one who had asked whether 'the canon law of Rome was binding on Lyndwood and his English colleagues.

'I do not quite understand what you mean by "the canon law of Rome." If you mean thereby any rules which relate only to the diocese of which the pope is bishop, or to the province of which the pope is metropolitan, then it is obvious enough that we in England have not to administer the canon law of Rome. But even if this be your meaning, you must be careful to avoid a mistake. I, whatever else I may be, am the official of a papal legate; the archiepiscopal court, over which I preside, is the court of a papal legate. . . . The "*mos et stylus Curiae Romanæ*" are my models. . . . However, I very much fear that this is not your meaning, that what you call the canon law of Rome is what I call the *ius commune* of the church, and that you are hinting that I am not bound by the statutes that the popes have decreed for all the faithful. If that be so, I must tell you that your hint is not only erroneous but heretical. That you will withdraw it I hope and believe, for otherwise, though we are sincerely sorry when we are driven to extremities, the archbishop may feel it his painful duty to relinquish you to the lay arm, and you know what follows relinquishment.'

Tracing out the supposed authorities for the particularist Anglican theory, Maitland found that complaints against the Pope were rife enough even among the clergy, but they were complaints of a lawful discretion being improvidently exercised, not of merely lawless usurpation; that some canons were never put in execution, because the Pope did not think it politic to confirm them; and that some papal acts and decrees were openly repudiated, and perhaps some ecclesiastics were not altogether sorry to see it, but the repudiation was the work of temporal power overriding the claims of spiritual jurisdiction. We can do no justice to the argument here, but it is known to have convinced Bishop Stubbs. In 1900 and later Maitland pursued the same line of study in 'Elizabethan

Gleanings,' to be found, at present, only in the 'English Historical Review.' He discovered that the 'et cetera' first introduced by Queen Elizabeth into the royal style was a device to save her from deciding offhand whether she was or not supreme Head of the Church in England. The acute piecing together of indications could hardly be bettered by a master of detective fiction, with the advantage of having constructed the problem himself.

In the 'History of English Law,' again, there were sections on corporations and on boroughs. These sections were recast in the second edition; and the study which led to this also led Maitland to produce the Ford lectures on 'Township and Borough,' given at Oxford in 1897 and published in the following year, and two years later to bring the 'realistic' theory of corporate personality to the notice of English scholars in the short and brilliant introduction to 'Political Theories of the Middle Age,' a portion of Dr Gierke's great work. This was translated by the introducer himself; and, lavish of labour as Maitland always was, we may not grudge it in this case, for Dr Gierke deserves to be translated as well as judged by his peers. Once more we must send the reader to the book itself if he would know why Maitland was so much interested in what seems at first sight a verbal or metaphysical subtlety. He will find that the question goes deep into the foundations of the law, and has a bearing on the higher politics, especially the politics of a composite empire, which is increasing in importance and may break out into surprises at any moment.

In one word, which for brevity's sake I must make dogmatic, the Lords of the Judicial Committee must sooner or later recognise that Dominion and Commonwealth, Provinces and States, being living members of one empire and perfectly real persons in political fact, have to be so treated in law. For one really does not like to contemplate the alternative of dissecting the King's imaginary 'body politic,' with or without the decent vagueness thrown about it by its abstract name of 'the Crown,' into as many corpuscles politic or crownlets as there are autonomous legislatures under the British flag. It is true that the Bishop of Durham, when he was lord of his temporal regalities, did not stick at issuing prohibitions, as lord, to the Bishop of Durham who held a spiritual

court. But can the King have a 'crown' of Australia and a 'crown' of New South Wales? And if not, what other way will their lordships find? I venture to predict that these and other like writings of Maitland's—which, to the merely English lawyer, may still seem things of unpractical curiosity—will, before many years are out, be cited in the argument of weighty constitutional questions at the antipodes. There was a further essay on 'Trust and Corporation,' written for publication in German, and for the use of German-speaking lawyers, of which the English original has been privately printed; some good judges consider it even better than the introduction to Gierke.

The Rede lecture, delivered at Cambridge in 1901, on 'English Law and the Renaissance,' stands by itself as an academic exercise of the best kind. Incidentally doing honour to Sir Robert Rede, the founder of the lecture, a judge administering the common law in the early sixteenth century, and Sir Thomas Smith, a distinguished Cambridge humanist and civilian of the next generation, Maitland considered the reasons why Roman law did not obtain official 'reception' in England in the course of the Reformation movement. A few years before, the question would not have been understood, for we had for the most part assumed that the law of the Continent was always Roman, and that in the thirteenth century a definite Romanising movement had been started in England and failed; both of which assumptions are incorrect. A light and now thoroughly practised hand used the remarkable collection of authority which may be seen in the notes (a model of scholarly recreation) to adorn a charming exposition; the epithet is advised, for it did charm an audience only in part humanist and only in very small part legal.

There was an unreported ending. Maitland had said that what most saved the national law of England was, in his judgment, the existence of a strong national law school. He uttered a surmise—and this stands in print—of what the Inns of Court might do if they were bold enough to resume their ancient functions with serious purpose; and then he began, as it seemed, the real conclusion, an exhortation of the like sort to the Universities.

That conclusion never came, for after the first sentence Maitland interrupted himself in a tone of apologetic surprise: 'But, Mr Vice-Chancellor, I perceive that there are strangers present.' Not too many speakers can carry off such a piece of ironical byplay in any surroundings; and this in the Senate House! It was perfectly successful, and more significant than any formal peroration.

Besides his original work, Maitland wrote a great number of critical notices in the 'English Historical Review,' the 'Law Quarterly Review,' and elsewhere, and seldom without adding something good of his own. He spared no pains in helping fellow-labourers, and always tried to think the best of their performance. Whenever he thought it sound in the main, his criticism was in the tone of friendly and equal discussion, as if he were talking across the work-table, and saying to the author, 'Don't you think so and so?' As good a specimen as any is one of the latest, a review of Prof. Tout and Miss Johnstone's 'State Trials of the Reign of Edward I' (E.H.R. xxi, 783). He praises the editor's diligence with his peculiar felicity.

'Out of the thicket may fly a bird worth powder and shot. Under the stone may lurk a toad with a jewel in its head. . . . Here' (in the rolls of Edward I at the Record Office) 'was a stone to be turned, a thicket to be beaten. Regarded as thickets, legal records, with their technical phrases, their *etceteras*, their unfinished words, are dense and thorny. Regarded as stones, they are apt to break up, as we lift them, into little fragments, and the dust thereof gets into our eyes and obscures the view.'

Then, after warmly commending the results, he gives nearly a score of emendations in the transcript, made possible by his intimate knowledge of this class of records, and perhaps fortified by personal inspection of these very rolls. Nowhere in Maitland's writings is there any note of patronising or insolent superiority such as may be found in some continental authors, happily not all, nor the best. Formulas like 'putide Shavius,' 'entschieden falsch wird von Distelkopf angenommen,' 'völlig verfehlt ist hier die Schornsteinfeger'sche Erklärung,' were wholly strange to his pen. Only gross incompetence or bad faith could make him a stern censor. Once or twice an unscrupulous champion of forgone conclusions came

across Maitland's path, and was sorry for it if he had wit enough to see the full measure of his discomfiture.

It would be idle to enumerate or dwell upon the tokens of appreciation offered to Maitland by learned bodies at home and abroad. Fitting as they were, and honourable to receiver and giver alike, they tell us nothing more here; they may be useful to certify the world that it has lost a great scholar. But there has been posthumous honour too, not of a common kind. An invitation to lecture at Harvard in the summer was almost on its way. Maitland would have prized it, for he knew the Harvard teachers and esteemed the work of their school. The real monument to Maitland would be a school of the common law in England, worthy to stand beside that of Harvard. We have no such school. I have said it many times in public, and deliberately say it again to our shame, with more knowledge, in some ways, than I ever had before. Then the University of Oxford sent to Cambridge a special message of condolence; herself about to lose, all too soon, a son of her own who was an equally strenuous friend of sound learning. And, to speak of what is within my particular knowledge, colleagues from America, France, Germany, and Italy have sent their words of tribute for publication, about the same time with these pages, in the 'Law Quarterly Review.' Maitland was a true citizen of the universal world of letters, all the more so because he was a true Englishman and west-countryman. He knew and loved the Vulgate as a good medieval scholar should. There we may fitly look for such words as may sum up his praise; and if, peradventure, we apply some of the words in a sense of our own more special than the author's, that also has ample warrant of medieval usage. '*Qui autem docti fuerint fulgebunt quasi splendor firmamenti, et qui ad iustitiam erudiunt multos quasi stellæ in perpetuas æternitates.*'

FREDERICK POLLOCK.

Art. VI.—THE MAIN FUNCTION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

1. *The House of Lords (Reform) Bill*. Brought in by Lord Newton. Parliamentary Papers, Lords (4). 1907.
2. *A Strong Second Chamber*. By Prof. E. S. Beesly. London: Reeves, 1907.
3. *The Governance of England*. By Sidney Low. London: Fisher Unwin, 1904.

WHAT is in modern England the main constitutional function of the House of Lords? To this enquiry few Englishmen have hitherto directed much attention, yet on the proper reply to it depends our judgment of every proposal for ending the existence, for diminishing the powers, or for changing the constitution of the Upper House. To supply the right answer, and to indicate the conclusions it suggests, is the aim of this article.

The main, then, though not the most obvious, of the functions which the House of Lords can, and, when it sees fit, does perform, is the securing that in matters of legislation the permanent will of the electorate shall not be overridden by the passions of a party which has obtained a temporary majority in the House of Commons. This end the Upper House can attain by rejecting any Bill sent up to it by the House of Commons which the Peers believe would not be supported by the electors, when appealed to at a general election. The strength, in short, of the House of Lords consists in the right and the power to compel an appeal to the electorate and thus to safeguard the sovereignty of the nation.

This statement may excite surprise. Englishmen are little given to analyse the Constitution; they are—and reformers would do well to note the fact—pretty well satisfied, as far as the Constitution goes, with things as they stand. Our democratic polity has this one merit, that the ordinary Englishman is, under it, governed in accordance with his own often very commonplace wishes. Our ancient Constitution, moreover, is hard to understand; it is, being the production of history, full of fictions, and an elector of average intelligence feels it at once difficult and unnecessary to distinguish fiction from fact. He knows that the House of Lords is, in

theory, a branch of the Legislature of co-ordinate authority with the House of Commons. He knows also that, in fact, the Upper House has much less power than the so called Lower House. But what are the real powers of the Second Chamber, and still more what is the main end for which it exists, are matters about which he does not care to trouble his head. Yet the constitutional doctrine we have laid down, though it is not often stated in broad terms, is assuredly sound.

'The House of Lords' (writes Bagehot) 'must yield whenever the opinion of the Commons is also the opinion of the nation, and when it is clear that the nation has made up its mind. Whether or not the nation has made up its mind is a question to be decided by all the circumstances of the case, and in the common way by which all practical questions are decided. There are some people who lay down a sort of mechanical test; they say the House of Lords should be at liberty to reject a measure passed by the Commons once or more, and then, if the Commons send it up again and again, infer that the nation is determined. But no important practical question in real life can be uniformly settled by a fixed and formal rule in this way. This rule would prove that the Lords might have rejected the Reform Act of 1832. Whenever the nation was both excited and determined, such a rule would be an acute and dangerous political poison. It would teach the House of Lords that it might shut its eyes to all the facts of real life, and decide simply by an abstract formula. . . . Undoubtedly there is a general truth in the rule. Whether a Bill has come up once only, or whether it has come up several times, is one important fact in judging whether the nation is determined to have that measure enacted; it is an indication, but it is only one of the indications. There are others equally decisive. The unanimous voice of the people may be so strong, and may be conveyed through so many organs, that it may be assumed to be lasting. . . . I should venture so far as to lay down for an approximate rule, that the House of Lords ought, on a first-class subject, to be slow—very slow—in rejecting a Bill passed even once by a large majority of the House of Commons. I would not, of course, lay this down as an unvarying rule; as I have said, I have for practical purposes no belief in unvarying rules. Majorities may be either genuine or fictitious, and if they are not genuine, if they do not embody the opinion of the representative as well as the opinion of the constituency, no one would wish to have any attention paid

to them. But if the opinion of the nation be strong and be universal, if it be really believed by members of Parliament as well as by those who send them to Parliament, in my judgment the Lords should yield at once, and should not resist it.' 'Essays on Parliamentary Reform' (ed. 1883), pp. 202, 203.

Thus Bagehot in 1875; and Bagehot, be it noted, was the one man of genius who, since the time of Burke, has devoted all the power of a subtle intellect to describing our Constitution, not as it is painted in books, but as he saw it living and working before his eyes.

Ten years later a disciple of Bagehot wrote:

'The general rule that the House of Lords must, in matters of legislation, ultimately give way to the House of Commons is one of the best-established maxims of modern constitutional ethics. But if any inquirer asks how the point at which the Peers are to give way is to be determined, no answer which even approximates to the truth can be given, except the very vague reply that the Upper House must give way whenever it is clearly proved that the will of the House of Commons represents the deliberate will of the nation. The nature of the proof differs under different circumstances.'*

Each of these expositions of constitutional usage was written long before the reform of the Upper House had come within the sphere of practical politics. The writer of each insists indeed upon the fact, which no one disputes, that on questions of legislation the House of Lords constantly yields in form to the expressed will of the House of Commons. But both writers assume that the Upper Chamber, when it formally yields to the House of Commons, in reality bows to the supreme power which, under our democratic constitution, can be nothing but the sovereignty of the people. Hence it immediately follows that the House of Lords always may, and sometimes should, resist the will of the House of Commons until the fact is clearly established that the Lower House expresses the actual and settled will of the nation. This is the principle on which the Peers have, for the last fifty or sixty years at least, consistently acted. Rarely, indeed, have they rejected any measure approved of by the Commons of which a candid historian could assert that

* Dicey, 'Law of the Constitution' (6th ed.), p. 402.

it had received the indubitable support of the nation. Of the House of Lords it has been well said by Mr Sidney Low, in his recent book, 'The Governance of England' (p. 223), that the House 'cannot upset the verdict; but it may take care that the issue is properly placed before the Court. It can ask for suspense of judgment till the national tribunal has weighed and examined the arguments.' This right of the Peers to enforce an appeal to the nation is commemorated by one remarkable and recent event. The rejection of Mr Gladstone's last Home Rule Bill saved the Constitution from destruction. The general election of 1895 proved that the Lords, in maintaining the union with Ireland, had obeyed, whilst the elected House of Commons had defied, the will of the country.

To this exposition of constitutional theory and practice are sometimes raised several objections.

The right or duty of the Lords to reject Bills passed by the House of Commons is represented as the claim of a body which, consisting of hereditary legislators, has received no mandate from the electors to thwart the wishes of the country; and the exercise of this right is rhetorically treated as treason against the majesty of the people. But no such claim is made by or on behalf of the Peers. They claim not to resist the will of the people, but simply to decide whether, on a critical occasion, the roar of a multitude, even when re-echoed by the majority of the House of Commons, is the voice of the nation, and, for the purpose of this decision, to appeal to the nation itself. It is simply idle to treat as an insult to the people an appeal which acknowledges the people's supreme authority.

As soon, however, as the House of Peers yields to the ascertained will of the country demagogues turn round and attack the House from another side. Their lordships, who were yesterday described as Tory reactionists who opposed the will of the country, are now reviled as cowards for passing a law which does not commend itself to their own judgment. This tone has a fine sound, but assuredly covers a lot of cant. Both Houses of Parliament are, in reality, agents of the nation; they must, under a democracy, finally legislate in accordance with the will of the people. A legislator in either House

of Parliament who flatters the people is a sycophant; a legislator who deceives the people is a liar; and Parliament would be a far nobler assembly than it is if every man, either Peer or Commoner, who belonged to either branch of the Legislature, never failed to speak his mind boldly and freely to the people. But the business of an agent when he has acted honestly by his employer is, as a rule, to obey his employer's orders. There is nothing dishonest, nothing discreditable, in the submission of either House to the ascertained will of the country.

This is the teaching of sound sense and sound morality. If it were not followed, the Constitution could not continue in working order for six months. To neglect this rule of common-sense would be madness. Folly can never be identified with duty. When the Peers have, in deference to the demand of the country, passed Bills of which they did not approve, statesmanlike recognition of the authority of the nation has never been deemed cowardice either by historians or moralists. Tories who, with Wellington at their head, withdrew their opposition to the Reform Act, peers who in 1846 acquiesced in the repeal of the Corn Laws, zealous churchmen who in 1869, under the guidance of Lord Cairns, arranged the terms for disestablishing the Church of Ireland, whilst themselves detesting the whole policy of disestablishment, have never been deemed fools or knaves or poltroons. The time for resistance had gone by; they did their duty; they bowed as loyal citizens to the lawful behests of the people of England.

Behind every other criticism of the doctrine maintained in this article lies a sentiment or a conviction which is, it may be suspected, shared at heart by every M.P. of every party. It is best summed up in Disraeli's youthful paradox, 'The House of Commons is absolute: it is the State.' This idolatry of the House of Commons, while it flatters the individual vanity of every member of the House, appeals to the corporate pride which ought to be cherished by every legislative assembly. But men who have once imbibed this absolute faith in the House of Commons to which they belong soon come to believe that opposition to the will of the House is exactly the same thing as opposition to the will of the nation, and that it is practically impossible that a freely and fairly elected

representative body should ever on particular topics misrepresent the wishes of the constituents by whom it has been chosen. If, however, the House of Commons is always the one authentic representative of the people, it follows inevitably that for the House of Lords to attempt to safeguard the sovereignty of the nation is an impertinent folly. The matter worth consideration is what is the true answer to a notion which exerts a far greater influence than any definitely avowed line of reasoning?

The reply is, in substance, this: the House of Commons never, according to constitutional theory, has been the authentic representative of the nation. It has never been the State; it has never been the sovereign power. From a legal point of view the sovereign power in England is not the House of Commons but Parliament, that is, the King and the two Houses acting together. Grant that parliamentary sovereignty is to a certain extent a legal fiction, grant further that the House of Commons possesses greater power than either the Crown or the House of Lords. Still, political fictions are as dangerous as legal; and, if we are to reject all fictions, we must recognise plain facts and acknowledge that the House of Commons itself can in this year 1907, at least, be treated as the State only by a very bold political fiction. Things have changed greatly since Disraeli uttered his paradox. Political sovereignty now belongs, in truth, rather to the electors than to the House of Commons, rather to the people than to Parliament. The very fact that a majority of the House of Commons can control not only legislation, but also every act of the Government makes it all the more necessary that, as regards the passing of laws, at any rate, there should be some appeal from the party which is supreme in the House of Commons to the nation itself.

Nowhere is such an appeal so necessary as in England. Here we have not, as they have in the United States, an all but unchangeable Constitution, the articles of which are safeguarded by the authority of the Supreme Court. We have no President who derives powers, more extensive than those possessed by an English king, directly from the people and, strong in them, can, if need be, withstand the Houses of Congress. We have not, as they have in

France, the means of submitting some fundamental change in the Constitution to the joint decision of the two legislative chambers sitting together as a National Assembly. Above all, we have not in England anything like the Swiss Referendum which makes impossible any change in an elaborate constitution until it has been submitted to the whole body of citizens for their approval or rejection. In England an appeal to the electors is a necessity; and, under the Constitution as it stands, this appeal can be enforced by the House of Lords and by the House of Lords alone.

Oddly enough, Liberals who assail the House of Lords rely, and rightly rely, on an argument which, in so far as it is sound, concedes the principle laid down in this article. The Peers, they say, and not without some truth, have become identified, not with the conservatism of the country, but with the Conservative party; hence, when Tories are in office, i.e. are supported by a majority of the House of Commons, the Upper House affords little protection against revolutionary legislation condemned by the judgment or the conscience of the people. Grant, for the sake of argument only, that this is so. What does this train of reasoning mean except that the House of Commons often fails to understand the wishes of the country, and that the true weakness of the Peers is that they do not often enough compel an appeal from the recklessness of a faction to the deliberate judgment of the electors? The Radical who complains that the Upper Chamber should have rejected the Education Act or the Licensing Act of the late Government may be right or may be wrong, but in any case he admits that a vote of the House of Commons may be a very different thing from the will of the people of England. We are all then, it seems, at bottom at one; we are agreed that the House of Lords may need reform, but there is no man mad enough to desire the uncontrolled despotism of the House of Commons.

The conviction that the main function of the House of Lords is to protect the sovereignty of the nation supplies us with a touchstone by which to test various proposals for dealing with the Upper House, and by which to determine how such proposals ought to be received by plain men of public spirit, and especially by patriotic

Unionists. Let us apply this test to the ideas of modern Radicalism. The attitude towards our Second Chamber adopted by Radicals who still claimed to be philosophic, was some years ago neatly summed up in the phrase, 'end it or mend it.' This epigrammatic formula has recently undergone a noteworthy transformation. It hardly suits the position of leaders who have exchanged philosophy which was never popular for the out-and-out partisanship which may possibly, at any rate, attract the crowd. The old war-cry has been transformed into 'end it, bend it, or mend it.' The proposals presented to the nation aim at the destruction, the enfeeblement, or the reconstitution of the Upper House.

To 'end' or abolish the House of Lords is an impossibility. On this point little need be said. To demonstrate a proposition which no one disputes is a waste of labour. None of the Ministry—no, not even the Attorney-General when he blusters in the absence of reporters—are revolutionists. They are not the men, and they know it, to repeat the feats of the Long Parliament. Had they the power to do so, they have not the wish. They no more intend to shut up the House of Lords than to cut off the head of Edward VII; and, had they the energy as well as the fanaticism of Puritans or Jacobins, they know that they are in this matter powerless because they lack the support of popular passion. No one hates a lord, or the House of Lords. A middle-class Englishman loves a lord only too well. The wage-earners look with more favour upon a wealthy duke than upon a wealthy manufacturer. No member of the Upper House need fear the menaces of the Cabinet. Within a few years our present Premier may have sought for and deservedly obtained a peerage; the Attorney-General, in the midst of a House of Commons which he does not seem quite to understand, sighs, one may suspect, like all his predecessors, for a seat on the woolsack.

To 'bend' the House of Lords, that is, in the euphonious phraseology of the day, to adjust the relation between the two Houses so that the Upper may never disagree with the Lower House, is a policy which commends itself to politicians who dare not and cannot openly destroy the House of Peers, but desire to diminish its authority so as, in fact, to subject it to the House of

Commons. The change looks like an easy one which might conceivably be carried out by an Act containing not more than one section, which should enact in substance that a Bill passed by the Commons but rejected by the House of Lords should, on being again passed by the Lower House, become law without requiring the assent of the Peers. This proposal, which may be embodied in a score of different forms, and be limited by an infinite number of different conditions, undoubtedly finds favour with Radicals who, having at this moment a majority in the Lower House, are apparently under the delusion, in the face of very recent experience, that this majority will last for ever, or else wish with singular unscrupulosity to make hay while the sun shines and immediately carry out every measure to which they are attached. A critic, however, must remark that this adjustment of the relation between the two Houses is an ambiguous expression and covers two proposals which are essentially different.

It may mean that by some device, with the details of which we need not trouble ourselves, a Bill passed by one House of Commons and then rejected by the Lords shall, if passed again in the *next* Parliament by *another* House of Commons, become law whether approved of by the House of Lords or not. The proposal thus to adjust the relation of the two Houses is assuredly open to obvious and very grave objections. It substitutes for a constitutional understanding or custom which even now exists, one of those rigid general rules which Bagehot, and every man of common-sense with him, abhors. It does not remove any one of the real defects in the actual constitution of the House of Lords; it neither lessens the number of the peers, nor does it exclude from the House either men of notoriously bad character, e.g. peers convicted of felony, or the large body of their lordships who practically take little part in the work of the House. The object which the proposed enactment might possibly attain is, as we shall show later, more easily and far more prudently obtained by a slight alteration in the custom rather than in the law of the Constitution. Yet, for all this, the suggested legal change does respect the sovereignty of the nation, for it involves the result that the Upper House can still send back any law of which it doubts the expediency to the

arbitrament of the people at a general election. But, for this very reason, a proposal at once pedantic and unnecessary will not enlist the support of innovators determined to make the House of Commons at all cost supreme.

The proposal to adjust the relations of the two Houses may have a different and a very sinister signification. It may mean that under some enactment (whether complicated or simple) a Bill passed by the House of Commons and rejected by the Lords shall, if passed again by the *same* House of Commons, *ipso facto* become law. This proposal, while ostensibly the same, differs fundamentally from that referred to above. The one respects, the other defies, the legitimate sovereignty of the nation. The difference is vital. What is for the moment of equal, if not of greater, importance is the fact that the one member of the present Ministry who has made his opinion public approves of the policy which aims at the absolute supremacy, not of the nation, but of the House of Commons. To ascertain that this is so, no one need take any more trouble than to buy the second number of a new and, so far, little known paper, 'The Nation.'

It is our deliberate intention to recommend a periodical of no great literary or other merit to the careful perusal of our readers. 'The Nation' is well worth its price, sixpence. It is the confidante of influential members of the Ministry. These gentlemen, including the Prime Minister, have thrown themselves into the spirit of the day; they do not, like their predecessors, explain their policy in Parliament—where, by the way, they would be liable to contradiction and interrogation; they do not, as did Peel and Disraeli, announce their views to large assemblies on which the eye of the whole country is fixed; they do not even write dignified letters addressed, say to some duke high in office, and meant to appear at once in all the papers and to command the notice of the whole nation. They whisper their opinions to an unknown organ which represents, we presume, the ideas, whatever they are, of these eminent politicians. In the first number of the 'Nation' is to be read a dissertation by the Prime Minister on the Hague Conference and the limitation of armaments. In the second number (March 9, 1907) appears 'A Smooth Way with the Peers,' by the Colonial Under-Secretary. It sketches

out in the rough his plan for adjusting the relations between the two Houses of Parliament. It is in one sense original; it is certainly simple. To do it justice we will state the essential part of it in Mr Winston Churchill's own words. His plan is :

'That Privy Councillors, as well as Peers, should be capable of exercising the full legislative privileges of the Second Chamber, if and when summoned thereto by the Crown; that the Crown should summon not less than 150, and not more than 250 of such persons to serve in any Parliament, for the term of that Parliament; that the writs of summons should issue from the Crown upon advice of Ministers; that it should be open to any Peer or Privy Councillor to decline the writ of summons; that only those Peers and Privy Councillors summoned and accepting for each Parliament should be eligible to sit or vote in such Parliament; that all Peers or Privy Councillors not summoned, or summoned and declining for any Parliament, should meanwhile be free to exercise the full privileges of ordinary citizens; that (in order to provide for changes of Ministry during the life of a single House of Commons) either House of Parliament might be separately dissolved; and that, in order to secure continued access to the House of Lords by the prominent spokesmen of any party in the State, all Peers or Privy Councillors who have held Ministerial office should receive writs of summons by accepted usage.'

This plan means, in plain terms, that each Ministry shall in turn create a packed House of Lords which may carry out the behests of the majority of a House of Commons. The motives which recommend it to its author are stated with cynical frankness.

'Since' (he writes) 'the political supremacy of the House of Commons must be the vital characteristic of any Liberal scheme, we must reject with regret, but with decision, all proposals for enabling the House of Lords to force every Liberal measure to the test of a Referendum. Such a provision would be contrary to the whole spirit of the British Constitution since the earliest dawn of parliaments. It would utterly destroy the representative character of members of the House of Commons, and the responsibility of Ministers of the Crown. It would make the smooth and orderly progress of Liberal Government impossible, and, while opening the flood-gates of violence and revolution, would choke for ever

the channels of reform. Still more abruptly may we dismiss all those ingenious plans for "reforming" the House of Lords into a Second Chamber of the superior imperial brand, and creating an august senate of unrepresentative persons, to curb the insolence of the House of Commons and to put the working-man in his proper place. Many deep waters must be traversed, and many steep mountains must be climbed, before we come to that.'

Here we have the policy and the motive thereof. It is a deliberate scheme for transferring to a party, not the power of the House of Lords, but the whole authority of the nation. It is worse, tenfold worse, than the *bona fide* and open abolition of the Upper House. In the case of an institution like the House of Lords, as in the case of an individual, death is far preferable to complete and permanent paralysis. As regards the nation, the honest rule of a single House, dangerous though it might be and certain as it is that such rule would soon become as hateful as that of the famous or infamous Rump, would be much better than the rule of a parliamentary majority in the Lower House, aggravated by the co-operation of a sham and packed Upper House. The acceptance of such a scheme is an impossibility.

There is much in Mr Beesly's 'Strong Second Chamber' with which we absolutely disagree, but it is an honest and manly exposition of the opinions of a writer who is certainly no friend whatever of the House of Lords. Yet he condemns by anticipation every scheme, such as that which has been thrown out by Mr Winston Churchill.

'Of all the schemes proposed' (writes Mr Beesly, p. 14), 'the most insensate, the most dangerous, the most hateful, are those which would retain the present House of Lords while curtailing its powers by statute. Rather than give the slightest countenance to any of them I, for one, would support the House of Lords as it is.'

With every one of these words one may agree; they assuredly give expression to the convictions of all patriots. Our party system may be a necessity, but people are getting not a little sick of it. To curtail, not to extend, its operation is the desire of many honest men whose names are utterly unknown to the political world. We may assure members of the House of Commons that the

last cause for which the country is enthusiastic is the unlimited supremacy of any party which may from time to time obtain a majority in the elected House. Mr Winston Churchill's suggestions, it will be said, are hardly worth examination. They do not derive weight from the character or the career of their author. He is a politician who has too early forgotten the dictum that a weathercock must not set up as a signpost. But his words derive weight, not from their own worth, but from their indicating the way in which the wind blows in the Cabinet. Is it conceivable that Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman has, like so many other persons, never looked at the second number of the 'Nation,' and never read the lucubrations of his Colonial Under-Secretary? However this be, prudent men will have nothing to do with plans, however ingenious or cynical, for bending the House of Lords.

Can we then 'mend' or reform the constitution of the House? This is the one question worth attention. Nor is the answer far to seek. Reform of a rational kind is perfectly possible. The efforts of the Government to turn it into a party cry have not yet succeeded. The people are not excited. Lord Newton's Bill, which it would be absurd to discuss at the close of an article by way either of apology or censure, contains good suggestions, and forms, at any rate, a good basis for discussion. The same may be said of other schemes which have been and will be proposed. Mr Goldwin Smith's suggestion that you might have recourse to the Privy Council for a body of men who might with advantage be made peers for life; Mr Beesly's suggestion that a Second Chamber must, in the present condition of public opinion, derive its strength from some kind of popular election; and other *bona fide* suggestions for amending the constitution of the Upper House, all deserve impartial attention. They none of them impede the discharge by the House of its one main and essential function; they none of them hand over the destinies not only of the United Kingdom, but of the British Empire, to the absolute control of the party from time to time dominant in the House of Commons—a House, be it noted, which, as regards countries outside the United Kingdom, is in no sense a representative body, and indeed is less representative of the colonies than is the Crown or than

either the House of Lords or the Privy Council might become.

If the House of Lords can, when the nation wills, be reformed, what should be the attitude taken up by the Unionist leaders of the House? Before answering this question it is necessary to call attention to a point of primary importance which is often overlooked. Mere partisans or party managers, whether they call themselves Conservatives or Liberals, are certain to dislike, though for different reasons, any change in the constitution of the House which really changes its character or adds to its strength. Conservative wire-pullers, and those who are led by them, are well satisfied with the present state of things. They have no wish to forgo the immediate though dearly bought advantages derived from the too close connexion between the Conservative party—a different thing from Conservatism—and the Second Chamber. Liberal wire-pullers, on the other hand, and those who follow them—we may perhaps in this case say the whole body of Radical members—know that a reformed Upper Chamber would be a strong Upper Chamber; they have no inclination to reform an institution which they ardently desire either to destroy or enfeeble. Add to this that the personal interest of Liberal members of Parliament falls in with their general dislike of the House of Lords.

Any serious alteration in the constitution of that House will, in one way or another, curtail the number of peers entitled to seats therein; but Peers who do not sit in their own House will undoubtedly, as is now the case with Irish peers, claim the right to be candidates for seats in the House of Commons. Such a demand cannot be refused, for it is simply the assertion that the electors have a right to choose, as their representatives in the House of Commons, the men whom they think best to represent them. Liberal members—perhaps we may say all members—of Parliament know that Peers who do not sit in the Upper House may be the most serious rivals. The taste of the electors is not exactly what serious Radicals desire. Who knows that they may not prefer a Liberal duke, or even an earl, to a Liberal cotton-spinner or soap-boiler, nay, even—strange though this perversion of feeling may appear—

to a learned professor, or, what is nearly the same thing, to a professorial statesman or prig. Unionist leaders, therefore, who propose to look only to the interest of the country, will probably find that, when called upon to examine propositions for the genuine reform of the House, they receive very languid support from ordinary members of Parliament, by whatever party name they are labelled. The right attitude, however, for our Unionist leaders is clear. Their one object should be to accept such changes in the constitution of the Upper House as may add to its strength, and, above all, preserve the supremacy of the nation.

For the attainment of this object they may take certain steps. They may, in the first place, lay down in so many words the principles which in their judgment ought to guide, and which, we may add, do in fact guide, the conduct of the Lords in regard to legislation supported by the votes of the House of Commons. These principles, which might well be enunciated by Lord Lansdowne and the Duke of Devonshire, are clear enough. The House of Lords must always, as long as it continues to exist, claim the right to criticise, with absolute freedom, any Bill sent to it for approval, however large the majority of the House of Commons by which the Bill is supported, or however vehement the general demand for its enactment. The House of Lords, again, will never forgo—and this is the essential matter—the right to send back to the people for reconsideration at a general election any measure, however strongly supported by the Lower House, which their lordships condemn, and as to which they doubt whether it answers to the permanent wish of the nation. The House of Lords, on the other hand, must admit, and in fact does admit, that the votes of the House of Commons must be *prima facie* presumed to correspond with the wishes of the people, though the weight of this presumption will differ widely according to various circumstances. The House, lastly, when once a measure has been reconsidered by the electors at a general election, should in general consider it a duty—though here again account must be taken of circumstances—to pass a Bill, even an important Bill, which may not commend itself to its judgment.

These principles contain nothing that is novel; they

are constantly acted upon; they give the only valid explanation—it is difficult to say that they afford the justification—of the acceptance by the House of Lords of the Trades Disputes Act, 1906. That that Act is anomalous, that it is opposed to the rule of law and to the absolute equality of all citizens before the law, is to many persons, and certainly to the present writer, as clear as day. That the defects of this extraordinary measure were patent to the majority of the House of Lords is certain; yet the Bill was passed by the House and without the least material amendment. The one justification was the conviction of the House that the Trades Disputes Bill represented the deliberate will of the electors. Whether this view of the facts was sound, or whether it would not have been expedient to submit so objectionable a measure to the direct verdict of the electors, are questions which do not here require discussion. All that we insist upon is that the conduct of the Lords showed that they held it their duty to give effect to what they deemed to be the deliberate will of the country. Their action at any rate conformed to the principles by which modern England is in general governed.

But what advantage, it will be asked, is to be found in explicitly proclaiming rules of conduct which are in fact habitually followed? The advantage is threefold. New force is given to a custom necessary for the working of our constitution. The silly delusion out of which demagogues, and even demagogues in high office, reap no small advantage—that whenever the Peers reject Bills carried by the House of Commons there arises a case of *The Peers v. The People*—is dispelled. The moral position, lastly, of the Upper House is made clear. The Lords, when they reject a Bill sent up to them by the House of Commons, and when they ultimately accept the same Bill when approved of by the country, equally respect, and may, without reproach, ultimately bow to, the sovereignty of the nation.

To any plan, in the second place, which, under whatever form or plea, nullifies or restricts the right of the Lords to insist, when they see fit, on an appeal to the electors, Unionists can and should offer the most strenuous opposition. Here there is no possibility of compromise. They are fighting, not for the privileges of the Peers, but

for the rights of the people. In this matter it makes no difference whether these rights are invaded by some arrangement which may have an air of moderation, and come under the plausible formula of a readjustment of the relations between the House of Commons and the other Chamber, or are attacked by some revolutionary scheme for packing and degrading the House of Lords, such as suits the taste and the recklessness of the Colonial Under-Secretary. The Unionist leaders should not allow themselves to be 'led'—if we may adopt the words of the Prime Minister—'into a labyrinth of constitutional fallacies, pedantries, or niceties,' and must let it be well known that no temptation or pressure will induce them to surrender the right of appeal to the people of England.

To all *bona fide* proposals, in the last place, for improving the constitution without lessening the legitimate authority of the House, all Unionists should give a most friendly reception. They must, for instance, be prepared to consider, as has been already intimated, whether the members of the Upper Chamber ought not, in order to increase the strength of such Chamber, to owe their position in a great degree to election. The elected Senate of France has, just because it is an elected body, an amount of authority which has never belonged to any other of the Second Chambers which have been created under the various constitutions of which France has had experience since 1789. Behind all minor problems, moreover, lies the question which will sooner or later require the most careful examination, whether the fundamentals of the Constitution ought not, in a democratic State such as England, to be protected by an institution resembling in principle the Swiss Referendum. The very name of the Referendum is hateful to your demagogue, just because it is the one institution which is at once democratic and conservative, and, while it secures the rights of the people, curtails the sphere of party government. For the moment, however, the whole duty of every man who is a patriot rather than a partisan is to see that the House of Lords remains able to perform its essential function of insisting upon an appeal from the House of Commons to the nation.

Art. VII.—THE FIRST EARL OF LYTTON.

1. *Personal and Literary Letters of Robert, First Earl of Lytton.* Edited by Lady Betty Balfour. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1906.
2. *Selected Poems.* By the Earl of Lytton (Owen Meredith). New edition. London: Longmans, 1906.

LADY BETTY BALFOUR, whose book on Lord Lytton's Indian administration is a valuable contribution to the history of the Empire, has now, in these two volumes of wider biographical, personal, and literary interest, completed the story of a remarkable and fascinating life. She has done this with a self-effacement through which, nevertheless, appear those evidences of filial love, devotion, and sympathy which are among the best of the many touching tributes to her father's memory; and she writes in that direct and gracefully simple style which seems to belong of native right to women. The result is that a character reveals itself to us in the making with no more of interpretation and commentary than the intelligent reader anticipates and delights to find—a character strangely attractive in its strength, its weakness, and its anomalies. It is the portrait of a practical visionary whose twofold aims were, with painful and conscientious effort, kept apart; who could rule an empire with the experience of age, and yet see the visions and dream the dreams of childhood and youth; a politician who could love his enemies, and sometimes was drawn most closely towards those who most strenuously opposed him; a sceptic who felt the need and knew the blessing of prayer; a gentle pessimist with an irrepressible and almost instinctive sense that all things, including his own bitterest sorrows, were tending to some far-off and, as yet, inconceivable good.

The earliest years of Robert Lytton might easily have imparted to the rest of his life a sinister and cynical bias. The worst side of matrimonial strife is that revolting egotism which takes no account of the children, the very fact of whose existence should prevent or repress disunion; and this evil exhibited itself in Bulwer Lytton's family in a very acute form. Of the father in these first days the worst that can be said is that he was culpably

negligent, and that his love was intermittent and sometimes injudicious ; but the mother was passionate, hasty, heartless, and cruel, with not even the semblance of maternal affection. Robert Lytton applied to himself in retrospect, with pathetic regret, the words of the luckless Richard Savage: 'No mother's care Shielded my infant innocence with prayer'; and it is grievous to record that the efforts of this true and tender heart to soften the bitter enmity between his parents only brought upon him the jealous wrath and suspicion of both. It is not surprising that, when he had to deal with this part of his father's story, the biographer's hand failed him, and he left unfinished a task which he alone could fulfil.

The sadness of children is sometimes only another name for the vicarious suffering of their compassionate elders, who know, what childhood has not yet learnt, how much cause it has to be sad. Robert Lytton in 1875 looked back upon the days he spent in Ireland, when he was about five years of age, as the happiest in his young life. Imagination, which consoled him to the end, began her work at once; and her vivid impressions were felt and retained long before they could be shaped in words. There was a sandy bay to which the boy, and that beloved sister whom he was so soon to lose, sometimes went, which they called the 'Velvet Strand'; and he speaks in later years of the sense of mystery and wonder with which he saw sailing-vessels near the shore. 'There is one verse of Tennyson,' he writes, 'which always brings the image of that bay with a rush before my eyes':

'And the stately ships go on
To their haven under the hill;
But O! for the touch of a vanish'd hand
And the sound of a voice that is still.'

And again :

'I remember an old deserted house in the neighbourhood surrounded by a deep meadow in which the grass waved high above our heads and was thick with buttercups. . . . It was always empty, and my impression was that nobody ever had lived or ever would live in it again since some one had died there. . . . It was generally in the afternoon towards sunset that we visited that deserted house; and to this hour evening sunlight glaring on the windows of an empty house gives me

a cold creeping, and seems to me the quintessential expression of melancholy. It is like the light shining on a dead man's eyes, which have no light *within* them.'

The chief guide and guardian of Robert Lytton and his sister was a friend of their mother's, Miss Greene. To her charge, in 1838, they were committed entirely; and her niece, who still survives, has given a pretty picture of the life the three children shared together in a lovely house near Coventry, whither Miss Greene went to dwell. They had few toys, but they had a square volume of fairy-tales, and knew much of Scott by heart. The most sincere tribute to the magic power of good Sir Walter has always been paid by children of sensibility or genius. An old clergyman, looking back after sixty years, could remember, with the distinctness of yesterday, the time when, a very thread-paper little mortal on his Welsh pony, he rode through a certain little six-inch deep brook, shouting at the top of his voice,

'Never heavier man nor horse
Stemmed a midnight torrent's force.'

And a like make-believe was practised by these young people in the 'children's room' when they enacted the opening scene of the chase in 'The Lady of the Lake.' Robert, as the king, blew a tin trumpet; the niece was the stag; and Emily, Robert's sister, appeared at the proper moment at the sound of the horn.

The book of fairy-tales was no less stimulating. Imaginative children are apt to take to fairyland as their proper spiritual kingdom, not at all repudiating, but reserving for future use, the severer creed taught them by parents and pastors. It would seem that Emily and the niece were the first to create this wonder-world for themselves, and told such stories of it, pretending that they visited it occasionally, that 'Teddy,' as he was then called, longed to visit it too. 'But,' says the narrator, 'how to reconcile our fictions with real facts was beyond us, so we had to say that only some quite special people were allowed to go; and, if any others attempted it, they were caught by gruesome creatures called "clutches" and carried away.' In spite of this disappointment and the 'clutches,' we feel sure that 'Teddy' reached a fairyland

of his own after all. Macaulay used to say that children were the only true poets; in Robert Lytton's view, the happiest ideal world lies about us in our infancy, and we unconsciously get back to it in our later dreams.

‘Thither we return

Long afterward, full weary of the world
Since traversed, and yet know it not again.
Like those Phœnician voyagers we are,
Who, voyaging in search of lands unknown,
Sail'd round the globe, and reach'd at last a land
They knew not. 'Twas the land they first had left,
Sailing in search of other lands beyond.
So we, who call that fair land Poesy,
Which is forgotten Childhood, reattain'd.’

So he writes in ‘King Poppy,’ that latest of his poems which he had in hand for so many years, adding, revising, reconstructing, till it became perhaps of all his writings the best expression of his character, the most faithful mirror of his favourite thoughts. If it might have been said of him, as of another poet, that he never was a boy, it might be said also that, in the best sense, he was always a child. In consequence, his converse with children was invariably sympathetic; and, as we learn from these pages, even his rebukes as an elder might rather be called the counsels of one conscious of sharing their infirmities. It was not moral indifference, but insight and fellow-feeling, which made him regard their errors not as sins, but as winsome eccentricities. When his first-born son, ‘his brave, beautiful Rowland,’ died, he expressed, in simple and touching verse, his fear that the little naughtinesses which he loved in the child could have no place in heaven. And the expansiveness of his affection, which burst through official restraints and had to some insular eyes a foreign air, attributable to his long residences abroad, was, we may conjecture, mainly the manifestation of that childlike nature which bitter experiences and much converse with our tortuous and variable humanity could not freeze into reserve.

His real education, until he went to Bonn, was that which he gave himself. At Harrow he won no prize, except a ‘nonsense scholarship,’ whatever that may be; but he devoured English literature out of school hours;

and, though he acquired no skill in Greek and Latin composition, the ancient classics even then, and still more when he read them more thoroughly at Bonn, were for him, as for Keats, who could read them only in translation, formative and inspiring, because studied as literature rather than exercises in idiom. It is strange that his father, never himself an exact scholar, but with a like assimilative power, and the same wide and intelligent curiosity, should have failed to measure Robert Lytton's rapid intellectual growth at this date, and should have regarded the hours spent in these self-chosen pursuits as time thrown away. If 'Clytemnestra,' as we have it, was written between the ages of fifteen and seventeen, there are few authentic instances of such early maturity of poetic power. It won, when at last it was published in 1855, the praise of Matthew Arnold, and drew from the emotional Leigh Hunt the tears of which perhaps he generally had a too copious supply. But this enthusiast was not in a particularly melting mood when he praised 'Clytemnestra'; at any rate it appears, from his remarks on other poems in the same volume, that his tears did not dim his critical vision. It may have been prudential wisdom and parental solicitude which led Bulwer Lytton to discourage his son's early efforts in literature; but, surely, never did these amiable virtues assume a more forbidding disguise. At the age of twelve the child sent his father some verses; and it is clear that they called forth little but censure, for Robert writes in reply:

'I do not ever think I shall like to give up my old friend the poetry. It cheers me when ill or unhappy. I always feel inclined to give vent to my feelings in poetry when alone, either in joy or in sorrow. I feel so ready to devote myself to it for life, for it is almost like a companion, and I feel so certain that I should make a great poet if I ever was one at all; but I know you know best, and you can tell all those feelings which grow on us when young and afterwards leave us.'

That there are 'feelings which grow on us when young and afterwards leave us' is a truth of which it is seldom possible to convince the young themselves. We have said that Robert Lytton was never a boy; and

certainly this is not a boy's letter; it indicates a passage from childhood to premature manhood, and tells of a paradise which thought has already begun to destroy. It is the first intimation of a never-ending conflict between the real and the ideal, between duty and inclination, between the cares and business of his life and that abiding solace upon which these seemed to be always encroaching. We say 'seemed' advisedly, for we have little doubt that the wide converse with men and extensive knowledge of their ways which his official employments gave him contributed as much to his making as a poet as that constant practice of his art which, as he complains almost with bitterness, those employments denied him. In one of his latest letters to his daughter he writes:

'My life has at least been a very full one, rich in varied experiences, touching the world at many points'; (and he adds), 'my natural disinclination to and unfitness for all the practical side of life is so great that I might just as likely have lapsed into a mere dreamer; the discipline of active life and forced contact with the world has been specially good for me, perhaps providential; and what I have gained from it as a man may be more than compensation of whatever I may have lost by it as an artist.'

We are convinced that he here says too little, and that he gained by the discipline of life not only as a man, but as a poet. It is scarcely a paradox to say that he was too imaginative; his thick-coming fancies, as Leigh Hunt early noted, were not kept in adequate control.

His daughter indeed, so often his just and sympathetic interpreter, tells us that the revolt from official cares rather increased than checked the tendency to disengage poetry from the actualities of human life:

'I think' (she writes) 'that the fanciful element, which became a more and more marked feature in his writings as he advanced in years, was in large part due to the need he felt . . . of escaping from an uncongenial world of fact, where his faculties were cramped by official convention and his character but partially understood, into a fable-land of his own creation.'

This we admit; but we are constrained to add, what we lack space to prove, that there is a very substantial part of his poetry intermingled even with his most ideal moods, and serving as their appropriate foil, which could

never have been written but for the fact that he 'touched the world at many points' and was a keen and, in the main, an amused observer of the phenomena which the world offered him. His official career gave him very many of those too numerous requisites which, as catalogued by the sage Imlac, convinced Rasselas that no human being could be a poet.

'Art requires the whole man,' writes Mrs Browning to him; and he seems to have accepted this as a verdict which, under the conditions of his existence, condemned him to dilettantism. But in his happier moods he knew better, and, as his daughter tells us, 'felt that the best in him went to his poetry.' And that 'best' was a great native gift, helped and stimulated by a knowledge which, like Jaques' melancholy, was 'compounded of many simples, extracted from many objects, and the sundry contemplation of his travels.' It was only in the strenuous days of his Indian Viceroyalty that his life was incompatible with any distinct literary effort. Then, indeed, the *vivida vis*, which never really abandoned him, was a smouldering fire, which nevertheless asserted itself in his private correspondence. We feel sure that he had that period in his mind when in his last book he makes the old King of Diadummiania say:

'The other day, when at the Council Board,
My minister of Justice read me out
A long report of his on Law Reform,
Mysteriously within myself I heard
A mocking echo of those melodies
The child sings to the sea-wind and the sea,
And suddenly I cried, "O sing once more
The ninety-seventh paragraph sublime
Of that seraphic and enchanting Code
Of Criminal Procedure."'

The child whose melodies thus haunt the monarch is his own daughter Diadema, who—we are 'edified by the margin' here—is Poetry in its infancy, inspiration without art, hidden in the wondrous island which Phantasos, or Imagination, has made for her, while a puppet, art without inspiration, takes her place.

It is with this artless music that Lytton is fain to console himself, as if art combined with inspiration were

beyond his reach. But he was not so inartistic as he supposed; nor was that too exuberant fancy which his kindest censors found in him a fault which criticism or any form of special training could cure. His daughter - says of his correspondence, 'to have ceased to be expansive and exuberant in expression as in feeling would have been to cease to be Robert Lytton altogether.' This once admitted, how could the same luxuriance be checked in his poetry without the risk of losing much that we could ill spare, including the unconscious revelation of the individual mind and character in that spontaneity which might be excessive but could no more be controlled than a river in flood? His father tells him, in sending back the proofs of 'Lucile,'

'The fault is incurable. It is in the wonderful excess of richness. There are too many words to one truth. But, so far as I have thus read, I feel more and more the ease, brightness and lightness of the whole. It has the indefinite thing, *Charm*.'

In this criticism, written when Bulwer had begun to recognise and take pride in his son's genius, there is perhaps not only praise but penetration. The fault is incurable just because the ease, if not the brightness and lightness of the verse, could not be severed from it without disappearing altogether. So far from considering that Robert's official duties were a bar to his success in poetry, Sir Edward believed that they were a necessary respite from over-productiveness and diffuseness, and, by the examples of Dante and Milton, urged that it was good for the imagination thus to lie fallow. But the father's theory of the motive power of poesy differed widely from the son's. The son must not write to please himself only, 'scribbling verses that no one would read.' He must find out the secret of popularity—Charles Mackay's, for instance—and he will discover that all successful poets 'concur to the great laws of rhythm and harmony, and in an earnest attempt to seize the most elementary, not the most refining, feelings of men.' On the other hand, the aim of Robert Lytton was, in the main, the satisfaction of his own soul, so much so that he unduly disparaged the poetry of 'Lucile' and the 'Wanderer,' which only satisfied the souls of other people.

Accordingly we read that 'it was not to his father but to John Forster' (that constant friend of his from his childhood) 'that he wrote most freely both as to his literary sympathies and his literary aspirations.' And to Forster he says, 'If I cannot write as I wish to write, silence is fitter and more soothing. To do this would be to sing from the throat, not from the heart—to be a sham rather than a truth.' The word 'soothing' here has a quite obvious significance. But he who sings, like Goethe's harper, according to the mood, must be content, like him, to find his sole reward in the music which he makes. The inscription on Robert Lytton's monument in St Paul's, written by his judicious friend Elwin, describes him as a 'poet of many styles, each the expression of his habitual thoughts.' And if those habitual thoughts became more and more transcendental with added years, there was less and less hope that they would be properly appreciated by the generation in which he lived. He certainly knew, better than any one could tell him, that men who bear precious seed after his fashion may have cause to go forth weeping, but seldom *presently* come again rejoicing, bringing their sheaves with them. The truth is that, possessing genius, he lacked that self-confidence which makes genius ever buoyant and hopeful. 'He was humble in his estimate of himself'—to quote Elwin once more; and it was characteristic of his humility and diffidence that he mistook the neglect with which much of his best work was received for an evidence of positive failure.

That 'Art requires the whole man' is one of those general maxims which, applied without discernment, may sometimes be quite untrue. For the great painter, the great sculptor, the great actor, it is a truism; these never relax effort till the climax of success is reached. But if to be engaged in great affairs were a bar to poetic achievements, we should never have had the 'Divina Commedia,' or 'Paradise Lost,' or 'The Faerie Queene.' The sculptor or the painter who should intermit the practice of his art in the prime of life would find, when he tried to resume it, that his right hand had forgotten her cunning; the actor who should do the same would become in his lifetime a forgotten voice. But Dante fights at Campaldino and in high office struggles with

factions in Florence, and wanders from city to city, a weary exile but an indomitable partisan, and nevertheless contrives to make a pilgrimage through Hell and Purgatory and Paradise; and Milton, as Foreign Secretary to the Commonwealth and Cromwell, writes acrimonious Latin for close upon eleven years, and yet lives to resume his long-suspended essay of 'things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.' Robert Lytton might well have looked upon himself as an Elizabethan born out of due time; in the reign of James he would have echoed, but with more sadness, jovial Bishop Corbet's 'Farewell to the Fairies'; in the spacious days that preceded it he would have been a 'son' of Spenser. He should have consoled himself by the example of that kindred spirit. Spenser, a practical politician with the views afterwards called Cromwellian, and an excellent man of business, in the course of eighteen years among the wild Irishry, who burnt his house and with it perhaps his infant child, wrote 'The Faerie Queene.' Even at that date his secretarial duties must have involved much routine work, from which his soul took holiday in its own world of fancy; and he was popular in his lifetime as he has never been popular since, only because he wrote for a perfervid generation; this was the accident of his birth and in no sense the measure of his genius.

We must add that, if Robert Lytton's unfitness for the practical side of life was a native defect, he must have cured himself of it very early; and we search these pages in vain for any trace of it. There is, on the contrary, abundant evidence that he was diligent in his official business and painstaking in detail. His master in diplomacy was his uncle, Sir Henry Bulwer, afterwards Lord Dalling, whom he describes, in words which might be adopted for his own praise, as possessing 'a wonderful sweetness and delicacy of disposition and a great elevation of sentiment, especially in all that concerned his country.' Under him the nephew works hard as unpaid attaché at Washington, is 'very busy and very happy,' and thinks 'he understands the routine of keeping the archives and register, docketing despatches, etc., quite as well as the gentleman now in receipt of a salary for doing so.' He was only nineteen when he wrote this; and surely habits so soon and so cheerfully acquired imply no original inapti-

tude for the minuter cares of office. It is obvious that his diligence in the day of small things was not the least of the virtues which recommended him for successive employments at Florence, at Paris, and at The Hague; nor was it (apparently) until 1860, when, at the age of twenty-eight, he was second secretary at Vienna, that an opportunity was given him of displaying his capacity for the higher work of diplomacy. He was twice in that year sent to Belgrade, first to watch the Servian Prince Milosch—'a sort of small Jenghiz Khan' (he writes), who has probably murdered a dozen men in the course of the strange career 'which has changed him from a pig-driver to a prince'; and, after the bombardment of the Servian capital, to 'keep the peace between the Turks and Servians till the close of the conference at Constantinople.'

For his success in these delicate missions he received warm praise from Sir Henry Bulwer, from the Embassy at Vienna, and from the Government at home. But from the outset he had in him the makings of a statesman. A letter from America to John Forster contains a masterly sketch of the state of parties there and the contrasted policies of North and South. His forecast was, indeed, at fault. He thinks it probable 'that the principles of the North on the subject of slavery, being more in accordance with the views of the world and the tone of advancing ideas, the South will insensibly succumb to the moral force of opinion.' If this hope was disappointed the sympathies of the young poet-diplomatist remained unshaken; and at the outbreak of the Civil War he delighted the historian Motley, then American Minister at Vienna, by warmly espousing the cause of the North when feeling in England ran strongly in the opposite direction. In a letter of 1866 from Cintra to John Forster, he speaks strongly of that 'aristocratic chivalry which would have plunged England into a disastrous and iniquitous war for the purpose of pulling into life a barbarous slave-power—a chivalry which would defend, against justice, humanity, and common-sense, women-flogging and man-murdering Governor Eyre on the ground of standing by an official agent against the field.' We cite these opinions, not for their intrinsic value, on which this is not the place to pronounce, but as indicating a consistency of judgment or perhaps of feeling in a heart essentially philanthropic.

From class-feeling Lytton was absolutely free. He writes in 1866, *à propos* of the Adullamites: 'I cannot, I confess, feel any sympathy with the Lowings and Horseman-neighings of terror at a modicum of fair-play for the working classes.' In the same year he says, with much prescience, 'I hope that I may live to see a thorough elementary system of *compulsory* secular education established in England. But I know that this will never precede a considerable extension of the suffrage.' He did, it is true, recognise that the inevitable growth of democracy could have, as its best appreciable result, only 'a general diffusion of mediocre comfort and well-being, adapted to the satisfaction and production of mediocre character.' 'The whole,' says a French critic on the same theme, 'becomes less coarse, but more vulgar'; and it is a dictum to which Robert Lytton would have subscribed, for he writes in one place, speaking indeed of a literary question, but obviously with a wider scope: 'It seems to me to be the fate of freedom to be made disgusting by those who exercise it.' These views, combined with the events both at home and abroad between 1880 and 1885, helped to make him 'a political pessimist,' but they imply no mistrust of any section of the community; they imply only forebodings for civilisation at large as modified by this ever-increasing and irresistible force. He has described progress as that which

'progressively deprives

Some one of something previously enjoyed,'

and he has expressed in many, and sometimes very beautiful, forms his settled conviction that with every gain to humanity there is a corresponding loss. But we shall have read these volumes to little purpose if we have not discovered that he loved mankind as he loved children, not only despite, but because of, their aberrations, and possessed in abundance the large sympathies which are necessary to beneficent statesmanship.

From the whole tenor of his life and character we should suspect the assertion, repeated recently by Mr Paul, that Lord Lytton went out to India determined to pick a quarrel with the Amir. It is a calumny once more completely refuted in the pages before us; and indeed such a policy was altogether too Bismarckian to be accepted

by a soul so sincere and humane. To discuss his Indian policy is beyond our scope; we can only recommend the study of his viceregal experience to the many who think that the complicated problems of that tremendous office can be discussed effectively by the help of vague generalisations and comfortable phrases and convenient metaphors mistaken for convincing facts. 'A buffer state,' for example, is one of such metaphors, by the aid of which we can possess our souls in patience only until we discover that such 'buffers' are human beings with wills and hopes and apprehensions of their own, and under the impulsion of a stronger will can be made to attack as well as to defend. It was impossible to remain inert while the scarcely-concealed designs of Russia were talked of in every bazaar and her victory over the Mussulman power in Europe was regarded both by the Amir and by the Mahometans of India generally as a proof of her strength, and every instance of subservience to her as an ominous sign of England's weakness.

It was not theatrical but political effect which Lytton aimed at and achieved in the splendid pageantry with which he impressed the natives of India, and in the special honours by which he attracted the native princes, to whom state and ceremony are a great and even a necessary part of life. His conduct in the notorious 'Fuller case' was humane and just; his management of the Indian famine was masterly and tactful; and very few at the present time must be those who do not share his misgivings about that curious and conceited nursling of our English culture, the aggressive baboo. The strange miscalculation of the military department in the estimates for the Afghan war clouded the close of his Indian administration; but the incident, rightly understood, brings into luminous clearness the essentially chivalrous nature of the man. 'It was a blunder,' he says, 'of which the scandal and reproach must fall directly upon myself. The external responsibility of the Government of India cannot be subdivided.' An enemy might have said just what his magnanimous spirit prompts him to say in standing between the public and his subordinates, who were really to blame. He must have been consoled for much vituperation in India and unfair attack at home by the friendship and support of such men as Strachey and

Roberts; of Cavagnari and Colley, those two brilliant examples of soldier-statesmanship so untimely lost to their country; and of Sir James Stephen, who in England defended his policy with an energy prompted by his own robust good sense and his intimate experience of Indian affairs.

Lord Lytton's affection for Sir James Stephen was characteristic of his beautiful capacity for friendship and the catholicity of his tastes in this respect. In one direction indeed, in spite of many literary and philosophic tastes in common, it might be termed the attraction of opposites. The father of the lamented J. K. S. seems to have held poetry in very little esteem, and told Lytton, with humorous exaggeration, that the theme of 'Paradise Lost' could have been more effectively stated in a prose pamphlet of half a dozen pages. He must have had his *habitat* in the court of the Gentiles when Lytton's soul was in its inner sanctuary, dwelling apart. Yet this was a friendship unalloyed. There were others which survived political severance mainly through community of spirit in the things of the mind. Such was the bond with Mr John Morley, of whom he writes:

'Why is it that all my most instinctive affections are given to those from whom I am separated by my political convictions? Whenever I meet John Morley, I feel that he is the finest fellow and dearest man in the world to me—except James Stephen.'

The last days of Lytton's 'pleasing-anxious being' must have been much soothed by his intercourse with Whitwell Elwin, once editor of the 'Quarterly Review'—that quiet, discerning, and full mind, whose sober and instructive pages might well be read as an excellent antidote to the dangerous little learning and shallow epigram of much present-day criticism. What manner of man Elwin was may almost be guessed from the fact that Thackeray and Lytton independently hit upon the name for him of Dr Primrose, Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield. In 'Glenaveril' Lytton has admirably fused his portrait with that of Mr de Villers, once Saxon secretary at Vienna, 'a man,' writes Lady Betty Balfour, 'in whom French wit mingled with German fancy, a poet who did not write poetry, a musician who did not

write music, a scholar, and a romantically devoted friend.' And thus runs the combined picture, of which 'the capacity for love and the knowledge were Elwin's, the grown-up child likeness belonging more to Villers':

'A full-grown child was Edelrath; and he,
Whose growth his growing tenderness caressed
As growing ivy clasps a growing tree,
So vast an appetite of love possessed
That in his heart he crammed man's world and man,
As in its mouth a child puts all it can.'

And no less comforting in earlier days must have been the society of Julian Fane, his colleague in the Embassy at Vienna from 1860 to 1863, whose influence, he tells us, 'was like the sunshine of an eternal summer on a land

"Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
Nor ever wind blows loudly."

All in him was clear, and bright, and calm, but never monotonous—'a meeting of sweet lights without a name.' So he writes in that fascinating biography, the prose 'In Memoriam' of a companionship like that of Tennyson and Arthur Hallam. At Cambridge Julian Fane had been the most brilliant member of that occult society whose history from time to time emerges into an unsought publicity, a society which has included four men of brilliant promise prematurely lost to the world—John Sterling, Arthur Hallam, Julian Fane, and W. K. Clifford—whose memories survive through the pious care of kindred spirits—Carlyle, Tennyson, Lytton, and Frederick Pollock. At Cambridge Fane's chosen associate was Vernon Harcourt; at Vienna he found another in Robert Lytton; and surely never was alliance cemented through a closer resemblance in character and tastes. It was indeed one of those affinities which in less noble natures sometimes end in rivalry and direct antagonism; and Robert Lytton was no doubt unconscious that so much of the graphic account which he has given of Julian Fane's winning personality might pass for a description of himself. We are reminded of Montaigne's account of his friendship with Étienne de la Boétie, which Lytton might have adopted to the letter. 'We were grown men when we were first acquainted; he was a few years older than I; we were together but four years in all;

there was no time to lose; and if you ask me why we loved each other, it was "parce que c'était lui, parce que c'était moi."

Fane's 'Report on Austrian Commerce,' in 1864, and Lytton's 'Commercial Treaty with Austria,' in 1869, show that the two friends were one, not only in the possession of the same poetic spirit and the same literary tastes, but in that practical ability which they were able to display apart from the imaginative life. Their joint production, 'Tannhäuser,' they themselves only regarded 'as an intellectual *tour de force*,' in which 'they adopted the style and spirit of the Tennysonian idyll' by way of expressing in words their vivid impression of Wagner's music. Even from this point of view we think that 'Tannhäuser,' if once taken by the critics too seriously, is now not taken seriously enough. It is surely a very finished and graceful poem, of great elevation of feeling, and very characteristic of the minds that collaborated upon it in absolutely complete harmony. That it is imitative is acknowledged; but in fact it belongs to the imitative period of Lytton's poetry, though the phrase must be used with some reserve.

'We want in you' (writes Mrs Browning to the poet of twenty-five years old) 'a more absorbing life of your own—more individuality—so that you should not remind us of this poet and that poet, when you are so certainly and thoroughly a poet yourself. You don't imitate, then why should you not be original? But you *sympathise* too much. It's your own wine, but you use your neighbour's glass to drink it out of.'

It was never quite his neighbour's glass. If, for example, the 'Botanist's Grave' inevitably suggests the 'Grammarians' Funeral,' the differences, both in the thought and the expression, are no less obvious. For, if in Lytton's poem there is that versatility of rhyme for which we are prepared, where humour is blended with fancy and reflection, there is very little that shows too obviously that the rhyme has created the thought—as if the clothes should be made first and their contents shovelled in afterwards—that fault in Browning over which somehow his genius contrives to triumph, to the peril nevertheless of the lasting fame which is notoriously risked by too much ingenuity. And the contrast in the

thought between the two poems almost brings the two men before us in epitome—so like Browning is it to idealise the minute pains of his gerund-grinder, and give him a place 'where meteors shoot, clouds form, lightnings are loosened, stars come and go'; so like Lytton to reverse the process—to begin with the boy, his heart full of wonder and worship, eager to reach the thought in Nature, to trace him degenerating, in the very quest, into the mere human likeness, sapless and withered, of the dried plant, upon which he has written an elaborate treatise, and to end with the moral:

'The world perchance, after all, knows already enough;
what is wanted

Is, not to know more, but know how to *imagine* the much
that it knows.'

In spite of the conflict of opinion between Bulwer Lytton and his son as to the end and aim of poetry, in spite also of a friendly controversy between them on the question whether the greatest poets had founded schools, which we discover in the end to be only a war of words, there were two general principles of the utmost importance, on which they came at last to be much of the same mind. The first was that the poet who aims at immortality must beware of eccentricity, of straying from the main current of thought or expression in poetry; the value of that sanity of genius which makes Spenser and Milton survive, and Donne and Cowley, but for a few verses, instinct with genuine and perennial feeling, the typical representatives of a fashion long ago outworn. The second was a conception for literature of a more than insular criterion of its intrinsic force, as a corrective to our inevitable tendency to dwell upon merely superficial defects which are obvious only to us, and disappear in translation, or to set an exaggerated value upon extravagances which could find favour only with ourselves. Some intimation, therefore, is contained in this critical correspondence of that world-literature which was the dream of Goethe and Carlyle, although the irresistible resolve of Lytton to express *himself*, to 'write simply as he wished to write,' made him neglect any such criterion in his own case, and although he well knew that much of our English genius could never conform to it,

Thus he recognises that the Titanic strength of Byron—that *enfant terrible*, as he calls him, ‘a sort of stupendous schoolboy, with his rough-hewn conceptions and shambling, burly bursts of verse’—is secure of a world-wide fame just because in its essence it can be conveyed, even when its characteristic negligence or excess is effaced by a foreign interpreter; whereas Carlyle is intrinsically difficult to render, except to a German. ‘Fancy Carlyle,’ he writes to Wilfrid Blunt, ‘in the mind of a Frenchman; what a bull in what a china-shop!’ And it is obvious that his revolt, both against Carlyle and against Browning, who powerfully influenced him at one time, was partly traceable to a growing conservatism of judgment and fastidiousness of taste, promoted by a tacit reference to the old masters of literature upon whom the world has pronounced a final verdict. He had, moreover, that historic sense in criticism which enabled him to recognise the value of conventions now obsolete; and this it is which prompts him to say to Mr Courthope, ‘I cannot but think the English, by their too contemptuous disregard of these troublesome and unpopular unities, have lost the art of dramatic construction, while the French have largely owed their preservation of it to their greater reverence of such rules.’ The same letter ends with a protest, such as we might expect from his intellectual sincerity and sound common-sense, against the propensity to extract some copybook moral from such tragedies as ‘Hamlet’ or ‘Lear.’

‘Tragedy’ (he concludes) ‘compels us to understand, not as an abstract proposition, but as a truth delivered through our strongest emotions, that Divine justice is not concerned about bringing things to a comfortable conclusion at the end of this poor little five-act play of ours: that its theatre is Infinity and its last word here “Beyond.”’

Consonantly with this, he disliked in any poetry, on the one hand, the display of moral purpose, and on the other, the lack of moral power.

We have done but scant justice to a life-story so many-sided, so fascinating, and so pathetic. Lytton’s best interpreter is his daughter. To the volume of ‘Selections’ from his verse she has prefixed an introduc-

tion which, short as it is, admirably describes and illustrates the changing and recurrent phases of his poetic career. Prematurity of thought and feeling has often an early grave; but he lost nothing that nature and circumstance gave him at the outset; and, if he added much, there was, in his most ideal fancies, something 'not too bright and good For human nature's daily food.' Some of these may for a long time remain 'vocal only to the intelligent,' and for the many may need a sympathetic interpreter, such, for example, as his 'After Paradise' found in Mr Gerald Balfour.* But, as he saw all things with a poet's eye, and had seen so much, there is a large part of his poetry which is by no means abstruse. Like the gentle and dreamy child of his own beautiful and simple fable, who was fascinated by the shaving which fell from the carpenter's workshop, he could find grace and beauty in things common, and, moving kindly with his kind, could invest with imaginative charm their simplest joys or sorrows. 'Dear little Villari' comes to him in great distress over the death of a friend's child, and Lytton writes: 'When some man comes to me wrapped up in a great sorrow, all other people suddenly dwindle into tricks and shams, as though he were the only real man in the world'; and that thought remains with him and finds expression at last in verse, which inevitably recalls the passionate outburst of Constance:

'To me and to the state of my great grief
Let kings assemble.'

This is but one instance out of many in which these letters are illuminative; and it ought to force upon the most reluctant critic the conviction that Lytton was a poet in the first place and a politician only in the second. In his verse, moreover, we see repeated, though toned down with a certain quaint, easy felicity and a lightness of satiric touch in harmony with his refined and gentle nature, the wit and humour and quick observation of social life which in converse with his friends he exhibited in a more exuberant form. True poet as he was, it must have been galling indeed to him to find himself treated as one to whom poetry was only a diver-

* 'Scots' Magazine,' June and July 1888.

sion from the serious business of life, on the same plane with Frederick the Great writing bad verses in bad French, or Warren Hastings offering his guests a new sonnet every morning as a relish for their breakfast. But, if indolent reviewers and a still more indolent public could not appreciate the rare and perhaps unexampled problem which his life offers of powers so diverse and yet so equally balanced, there were, among 'those who know,' many who admired and loved him in both the characters in which he presented himself to the world, while he himself was groaning under the burden of public duty, and perhaps felt as Schiller's Pegasus might have felt when yoked with the ox to the plough. With a wife who entered with complete sympathy into every detail of his career, and children no less devoted, including the biographer, whom he calls his *alter ego*, he had one great solace in his domestic affections. Those who loved him best of all revered without jealousy that other solace which was a necessity of his life; nor did they grudge him those hours in which, like his own shepherd,

'He became as those on whose changed life
A fairy's choice hath thrown its spell; to whom
Their home and kindred, their diurnal ways,
And all familiar things thenceforth appear
Distant, and strange, and foreign to the sense
Of their own nearness to an unseen power
That speaks in silence, glows in darkness, breathes
On sleeping lids, and burns upon shut lips.
For wheresoe'er they gaze, there shines a star,
And wheresoe'er they move, there sounds a song;
A star unseen, a song unheard, by all
But they, on whose thrill'd ear for ever rings
The fairy music, and in whose wild eyes
Reflected gleam the lights of fairyland.
So strong the charm is on the life it lures,
And luring, loosens from all else on earth,
That with its spell, if broken, breaks the heart
Of him whose being it hath once possessed.'

Art. VIII.—MR HALDANE AND THE ARMY.

1. *Imperial Strategy*. By the Military Correspondent of the 'Times.' London: Murray, 1906.
2. *The Army in 1906; a Policy and a Vindication*. By the Right Hon. H. O. Arnold-Forster, M.P. London: Murray, 1906.
3. *Two Speeches, delivered in Parliament March 8 and July 12, 1906, on the Policy of the Army in the ensuing Year*. By the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for War, R. R. Haldane, M.P. London: Dent, 1906.
4. *Cavalry in Future Wars*. By H. E. Lieut.-General Frederick von Bernhardi. Translated by C. S. Goldman, with an introduction by Lieut.-General Sir John French. London: Murray, 1906.
5. *Cavalry on Service*. By General von Pelet-Narbonne. Translated by Major D'A. Legard, 17th Lancers. London: Rees, 1906.
6. *The Nation in Arms*. By Baron Colmar von der Goltz. Translated by P. A. Ashworth. London: Rees, 1906.
7. *Speech delivered in Parliament, February 25, 1907*. By Mr Haldane. The 'Times,' February 26, 1907.
8. *The Preservation of the Militia*. By Colonel the Duke of Bedford, K.G. London: Murray, 1907.

THE periodic revivals in Parliament of the subject familiarly called Army Reform always excite a certain amount of academic interest, and even of unpractical discussion, among the general public. Throughout all the discussion, however, an underlying feeling can be traced, a suspicion that practical reform cannot be hoped for; that the remedies proposed do not touch, and are not intended to touch, the real evils; that the schemes which from time to time appear and vanish are mere lures to divert attention from the alarming faults in our military system. The newest plan is that recently set forth by Mr Haldane. Its critics are of two classes. There are those who object to it because of its details—the reduction of the regular army, the employment of militia, with an expeditionary force, the adherence to the Cardwell system. Others base their strictures on broader principles, and plainly assert that the scheme is founded on misapprehension or misstatement of our national

requirements; that, even if successful in its limited way, it will make no sufficient provision for national security.

The views of earnest military reformers on the vital question of national defence do not lack adequate expression; but hitherto the study of the subject has been made difficult by the fact that the best contributions to the discussion have appeared only in the press, or in reviews and magazines, and that the task of discovering these essays and rescuing them from the oblivion of back numbers is laborious and unsatisfactory. The collection of reprints which has been published under the title of 'Imperial Strategy' is therefore welcome, for of all the articles which have helped to enlighten the public on the essential obligations of national existence and the requirements of national security none are better worthy of reproduction than those supplied to the 'Times' by its military correspondent. Settled doctrines based on reasoned thought are what this nation requires to work out its salvation; and, lest those who are responsible for settling the doctrines should find the reasoned thought beyond their powers, the author of 'Imperial Strategy' has prepared for them some very solid foundations.

The book consists mainly of a selection from these articles; a few of the essays are reprinted from other periodicals; only two, and these comparatively unimportant, are published for the first time. Whether the author has been wise in retaining the original form of his articles is doubtful; valuable as they are, the essays follow each other in somewhat inconsequent fashion; they do not cover the whole field of the subject, and occasionally they overlap. No doubt the field is a wide one, and the task of preparing a consecutive treatise on Imperial strategy might well appal the most resolute propagandist; yet in dealing with a subject so tangled, and subject to so many distinct and conflicting influences, continuity of thought and argument is of the utmost importance. The articles, each complete in itself, are luminous and convincing, and are admirably designed for their original setting, the columns of the daily press, where sustained continuity of reasoning is impossible to the reader, and therefore unnecessary in the writer. But in a book which is in every respect deserving of study, it is a pity that the work

should be left in any way incomplete. The pearls are there, but the chaplet is not yet strung.

If the problem of national defence, Imperial strategy—call it what you will—be considered in its simplest aspect, there are two primary and conflicting factors: the requirements for security and the disinclination to endure the burden of armaments. These influences are always opposed to each other; and, although in some fortunate countries—the United States, for example—the requirements are so small and the resources are so great that the conflict is not at present discernible, the extent of the preparations which any nation can make for war must depend finally on the respective intensity of the opposing interests. Among continental nations security is the first consideration; the standard has been originally fixed to comply with military requirements; and, as yet, the assaults of those who prefer present comfort to permanent safety have not had sufficient weight to effect any appreciable reduction in this standard. The burden of armaments has been lightened in many ways—by better distribution, by alteration of its incidence, by giving to the people discipline and health in return for service; but these measures of relief have been carried out, in almost every case, without any material contraction of the margin of safety. The method by which continental nations endeavour to attain the standard of security is simple; the rule is that every sound man of suitable age shall be liable, and shall be prepared, to serve his country in war. By adopting this principle the great Powers each succeed in organising a force which will have a reasonable chance of victory in any probable war; this may be called unlimited security. Lesser Powers trust to their forces being sufficient to discourage a superior adversary from undertaking a difficult and costly campaign; they thus obtain a limited security, based on the prospect of being able to ensure peace; and, to strengthen this partial security, they endeavour to gain allies to help them, or protectors whose possible intervention would be a serious consideration to an aggressor.

The system on which this country takes measures for its defence is entirely different. The standard is not fixed, save in certain details, by requirements of security, but rather by the amount of the concessions reluctantly

granted by a people who consider that the burden of armaments should be measured by inclination and not by necessity. In two respects only has our defence policy followed the dictates of plain necessity; the standard of strength of the navy and that of the garrison of India have some relation to the possible tasks which these forces may have to undertake. In both cases the necessity for a standard has been brought home to the nation only by imminent danger; at certain stages of the Napoleonic wars the command of the sea was in jeopardy, and at the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny the British force in India was manifestly insufficient. In other respects the insular view of national defence is in strange contrast to continental principles, so much so that there is need for some consideration as to the causes and effects of the different policies.

There can be but little doubt that the military policy of continental states is dictated by military considerations and is entirely uninfluenced by methods of government. Germany, under an autocracy slightly tempered by public opinion, and France, guided by democratic principles, have arrived at the same conclusions. In almost every European country also military policy is continuous; whatever party be in power the standard of security remains the same. If any alteration is made in the standard either of strength or of efficiency it is made and accepted by the nation as a whole, not by the political party which temporarily controls the Government. Our insular policy is fundamentally different. Since the time of Cromwell there has always been a party in the State which recognises no standard of military security, but considers only the burden of armaments; whose policy has ever been the avoidance of present sacrifice at the risk of future disaster. From time to time these views have prevailed; the burden has been lifted; and disaster—minor disaster, thanks to the Channel—has followed in due course. It must be said in partial excuse of the supporters of this misguided policy, that until the latter part of the nineteenth century no attempt had ever been made to fix a standard of security, and then only the navy and the garrison of India were considered; but the curious part is that it was but seldom that any attempt was made to justify the periodic reduction of armed

strength by arguments to prove that reduction would not impair security. The effective argument has always been the objection to expense; not that the expense was unbearable, but that it was inconvenient; frequently the argument has been supported by the strange plea that the army, or navy, has been extravagantly administered, and that therefore the cost should be lessened, not by economy, but by reduction of strength or efficiency.

The people who are susceptible to argument of this kind are for the most part the victims of ignorance. However cultured they may be, whatever may be the range of their knowledge in other respects, the study of military policy has been omitted in their education. Indeed it may be said that the great majority of the nation has only the vaguest idea of what military policy is, or what our military policy should be. One reason for this lack of knowledge is that the principles on which our policy should be based have seldom been clearly stated and have never been adequately discussed. The first attempt at any authoritative statement, based on scientific deduction, was contained in Mr Balfour's speech of the 11th May, 1905, on Imperial defence. This date is likely to be a landmark in our military history, for Mr Balfour brought Truth from the hiding-place where she had lurked for generations. Decently veiled she was; no statesman could face the risk of presenting her otherwise to the public gaze; yet enough was visible to let people see in how far the reality differed from imaginary conceptions. For none had believed the tales of the few adventurous spirits who, unaided, had previously penetrated to her retreat.

Among continental nations the doctrines of national defence are considered worthy of attention by all; and consequently the main principles on which the resources of the country are organised for war are well known to the public. Some of the books which have appeared on this subject deal with the matter so thoroughly that they are of value to nations other than those which they are primarily intended to instruct. Of these works, perhaps the most notable is Baron von der Goltz's treatise, known in this country under the title 'The Nation in Arms,' of which a new English edition has just appeared. The main

object of the book is clearly stated by the author; it is 'to create a sound conception of the nature of war outside military circles. A keen desire for instruction has already manifested itself, and a true comprehension of the nature of war is certainly not the least important step in the direction of national military efficiency.' In this country there has as yet been no manifestation of a keen desire for instruction, yet the need for instruction is evident enough; a cursory perusal of the report of any army debate in the House of Commons will supply ample proof of the ignorance or indifference of most of our legislators on the subject of national defence.

Mr Balfour's authoritative statement, however, has borne good fruit, for, although there are those who still cry for reduction, with or without reason, and others who consider that the military problem can be solved by the addition of a few men to the army reserve, or by the extension of the period of volunteer encampments, there is yet noticeable, in pronouncements in the press and from the platform, a tendency to admit that there are *some* main principles by which military policy should be guided, and a recognition of the fact that to the lack of such guiding principles in our policy the present unsatisfactory state of our armed forces is due. It is becoming apparent that not only have we not got what we want, but that we are paying for what we do not want. Our forces have been formed haphazard to meet emergencies of which some were imaginary, some were temporary; the lines of their organisation have been the lines of least resistance, that is, those which lead to disorganisation; their functions have hitherto been undefined, because any attempt at truthful definition would expose the inherent absurdity of the system. Mr Balfour's statement drew attention to the fact that our naval strength is sufficient to protect these islands from invasion; yet we maintain three hundred thousand men for the sole purpose of resisting an enemy after these islands have been invaded. We have frontiers abroad which march with those of great Powers; to protect these frontiers we have only the disengaged portion of the regular army and its reserve, forces which may be accurately described as the surplus of our foreign peace garrisons. These bald facts are alone sufficient to

show the irrational manner in which our military policy is carried on. Even if the troops which are tied to home defence were capable of resisting an invader (which they are not), there is still no place for them, under such limitation of service, in any scheme which aims alike at efficiency and economy. While our navy is supreme, the money spent on home defence troops is wasted.

The authoritative statement of Mr Balfour opened the gate to discussion of the broad principles which he had outlined. Of those who have taken part in it, Mr Arnold-Forster and Mr Haldane, the two Secretaries of State concerned, have naturally been the most prominent. Mr Arnold-Forster certainly made use of the principles enunciated by the Prime Minister; that is, he applied them when they fitted in with his own preconceived notions, and he discarded them when they did not. His book, 'The Army in 1906,' is an elaboration of his share in the discussion on military policy, and is, it must be admitted, a spirited piece of special pleading in favour of his discarded scheme. It is valuable, because the scheme was, in parts, a good one, and the reasons which are adduced for many of the suggestions, particularly for the conversion of surplus regular and selected militia regiments into a short-service force, are well considered and weighty; but the case is frequently damaged by overstatement, and sometimes by misstatement.

For Mr Haldane's contributions to the discussion we have to look to his speeches, two of which have been published in pamphlet form. The Secretary of State adopts the attitude of a diffident student of the military art; he has formulated the opinion, unusual in this country, that among professional soldiers there are men of military knowledge, and even of intelligence, and has had the courage to admit that, on certain points, the professional view is worthy of consideration. This attitude is certainly discreet, and has done much to strengthen Mr Haldane's position, especially with the army, which is unaccustomed to fair words and quickly responsive to appreciation. With the general public also Mr Haldane's diffidence has been of service; there is a widespread belief that the insensate reduction of battalions was a measure forced on the War Minister and not originated by him. Even his artless hope of being

able to create a second-line army out of 'those who take an interest in rifle-shooting, or have a taste for drill,' has raised a smile only of sympathy, not of ridicule. Mr Haldane is digging for his foundations; the rock is there, although he has not yet reached it; but as long as he perseveres in his exploration, so long is there hope of his success, and so long will there be trust in his good faith.

Before the standard of security of a nation can be assessed, there is a vast amount of preliminary calculation required; and the terms of calculation are in their nature indefinite, depending on estimate, not on certainty. For most nations, however, the calculations are not very complex; only one or two contingencies have to be considered; possible enemies are few and easily indicated. When the British Empire is in question the contingencies assume an infinite variety; the terms of the calculations must be estimated by means of expert evidence of the military power of nearly every nation on earth; the calculation itself touches closely the national life, and its correct solution will tax the best intellects of the country. If the case of a single frontier, India, be considered, some of the necessary estimates and calculations are at once apparent. Estimates are required of the strength of the forces which Russia could bring to her Afghan frontier, and could maintain in that theatre, of the sufficiency of the supplies and transport for this force, of its probable value in war, judged from its training and previous records, of the geographical obstacles or aids to its progress, of a hundred obscure and recondite considerations which might affect an offensive campaign. The inclination of the Afghan ruler and of his people, the armed strength of that country, and the possible application of its forces, must be included. The attitude of native India, the possibility of an alliance against us, are important factors. All these factors having been weighed, we must estimate our ability to deal with them, reckon up the assets, and consider the best means of making up the deficiency. In 'Imperial Strategy' a chapter is devoted to the defence of India; and the most casual reader cannot fail to be struck by the complexity of the problem, and by the lack of any national and settled policy in our method of dealing with it. The fact is that those who have sufficient knowledge to dictate a sound policy have

no power, while those who have power have no knowledge. The standard of security even for one frontier cannot be worked out without the assistance of those whose lives have been devoted to the study of the military art in all its details; the science of the soldier and the judgment of the statesman must be brought together in harmonious cooperation.

When this process has been completed with relation to every probable or reasonable contingency of war in any part of our wide-spread Empire, then a national standard of security can be assessed. That our military preparations will ever attain this standard is perhaps not to be expected. We have ever loved to take risks; but, if we have a standard, we shall at least have some data by which to gauge the extent of the risks we are accepting. At present we have none; we know that the risks are heavy, and that is all. And until we have a standard we shall be unable so to organise the resources which we may feel disposed to devote to national defence as to make the risks as small and as remote as possible. Our military organisation at present bears but little relation to our requirements for war; our auxiliary force resembles a breakwater from which the sea has receded, notable only as a historical landmark, useful only as a playground for the local children. 'We are organising the army,' says the author of 'Imperial Strategy,' 'on the basis of five-sixths of it remaining at home, where, unless all our naval theories, practices, sacrifices, and traditions are mere nonsense, they will never fight a battle. . . . In organising forces which we cannot send abroad and cannot use at home, strategic dementia has reached its climax.'

The fixing of the standard, the calculation of our requirements for security, can only be undertaken by the King's Government, aided by the best military advice and information. But, whatever the precise result of such deliberation may be, the fact is evident and undenied that our present arrangements are totally insufficient. There can therefore be no objection, even before the standard is arrived at, to the consideration of the methods by which our resources can be organised to greater effect, without imposing any more severe strain on the country. The country is in no humour to accept additional financial burdens unless the necessity is im-

pressed on it very forcibly; it is doubtful whether any influence, save the pressure of imminent danger or the experience of disaster, will avail to wring a consent to bear a heavier contribution. No one knows this better than Mr Haldane; and the trend of his experiments is all in the direction of economical conversion of his resources, of getting better value for his money, without any increase of either the compulsory or the voluntary burden, the taxes or the conditions of service. That something may be accomplished in this direction is generally admitted; the only danger to be feared in setting to work at once is the possibility of the selected scheme being essentially of a limited nature and incapable of either permanent or temporary expansion, should it be discovered later that the requirements of security had been underestimated. This was the fundamental defect of Mr Arnold-Forster's scheme; his estimate of our requirements, arrived at, apparently, by intuition, was of the vaguest nature; and the force to be provided by his proposed organisation was strictly limited to an arbitrary strength. Power of expansion up to the full extent of our resources is absolutely essential.

That the regular army is, from its nature, incapable of indefinite expansion, is universally admitted. It is an efficient but highly expensive machine designed to perform certain particular services; to provide foreign garrisons in peace time, to control dependent races, to undertake small wars, to train auxiliaries. The expense of maintaining it at a strength sufficient for the performance of these functions not only makes great expansion on regular lines impossible, but provides a strong argument for the strictest limitation of its permanent establishment. Any hope of fulfilling our requirements for defence by increasing the regular army may be dismissed as chimerical; expansion must be sought for elsewhere.

It would appear at first sight that in Mr Haldane's new scheme a limited expansion of the regular army is provided for. Seventy-four training battalions are to be established, in which men will be enlisted for six years on the condition that, if a general mobilisation takes place during their term of service, they may be sent in drafts to reinforce the battalions of regulars; similar but unspecified arrangements are to be made for the other arms and departments of the regular army. These men

will form, practically, a partially trained addition to the army reserve; it is expected that about 80,000 men will in this way become available for foreign service with the regular army in time of war, and that we shall thus be able to mobilise and to maintain in the field for six months a force of 160,000 men. This is, so far, the limit of this expansion. If the scheme is successful and the men are found, we are, theoretically, very much where we were; that is, we have available for war overseas—the most probable contingency—the regular army, backed by 80,000 special reservists, where formerly we had the regular army backed by 80,000 militia. Practically we are better off, for not only has a vast improvement in organisation been outlined—the establishment of a proper proportion of the three arms and of the departmental services—but we shall at least know whether the 80,000 reservists can be counted on or not. There could never be any certainty that the militia would be available for service overseas; it lay with them to say, when the emergency arose, whether they would consent to extend their liability. With the new force the number available will be known beforehand, and will be represented by the strength of the force, for each man will accept the liability on enlistment. These are undeniable advantages, but yet they do not give us expansion; for that we must still look elsewhere.

The territorial army, the second line, in which the volunteers and part of the yeomanry and militia are to be absorbed, is evidently the force to which Mr Haldane expects us to look; and it may be admitted at once that some of the principles which he has applied to the organisation of this force are entirely suited to a system of expansion. The decentralisation of administration, the formation of territorial divisions, the enforcement of a period of liability, are all valuable reforms; the minor defects which are apparent now, or may show themselves later, can be remedied without impairing the scheme. But there is one defect which exists in our auxiliary forces as they are, and will exist after they are reorganised; the 300,000 men are to be tied down to the defence of two islands which the navy keeps inviolate; they are to ensure local superiority in a theatre to which no enemy can penetrate. The field force of regulars may be fighting abroad, but the territorial army remains at home. At

the end of six months the field army, even if successful so far, will have its last reserve in the ranks; the territorial army, after six months' embodiment, may be fit to take the field, but it will still remain at home. Perhaps it, or some part of it, or some individuals belonging to it, may feel disposed to help the field force, and they may be allowed, or even encouraged to do so, but they could not be ordered to go, whatever the emergency; their obligation to fight extends only to places where no fighting is to be expected. No doubt the existence of this force may tend to discourage any attempt of an enemy to raid the United Kingdom; but raids are neither very probable nor necessarily very serious. We are spending our strength in endeavouring to cope with the most remote contingency, leaving the obvious and pressing dangers unconsidered.

Mr Haldane is, in fact, engaged in making ropes of sand, and is taking great pains to ensure that only the best kind of sand shall be used to make his ropes. The ropes will not be very valuable, but by happy foresight, or chance, his machinery is so constructed as to be capable of dealing also with hemp; the use of sand is merely his preference. The organisation of the territorial army appears to be suitable for the provision of an efficient force for a great war; it is the intention at present to use it to provide a force which shall be useless in a great war, which shall remain immobile, paralysed, outside the sphere of conflict. Yet for the machinery, the organisation, we may be grateful; if Mr Haldane gives us that and nothing else, he will have given us more than any of his predecessors for generations. We shall have the means, if only we have the will to use them, of producing a real second line army for purposes of war. What is wanting is the authority to turn the organisation to good account; to ensure that the force which is to be created, however small it may have to be, shall be available for service wherever it is required, and shall not be interned where it is not required. What is wanted, in fact, is an obligation on the part of the second line army to serve, in time of war, wherever the proper authorities may consider that its services will be most useful. If men can be found to accept this obligation, then we shall have a real and useful force, and the problem of

expansion will be, in some degree, solved. If the men cannot be found, we shall at least know our danger; we shall have discovered the insufficiency of ropes of sand.

'Our belief is' (said Mr Haldane on February 25) '... that they (the men of the second line) would be ready, finding themselves in their units, to say, "we wish to go abroad and take our part in the theatre of war, to fight in the interests of the nation and for the defence of the Empire." It might be that they would not only go in their battalions, but in their brigades and even divisions.'

It might indeed be so, but it would be a good thing to find out beforehand. One way to find out would be to ask them; if they agree, then they can be counted on; if they demur, the expense of training them will be a purposeless extravagance. It looks as if Mr Haldane dares not put the question because he fears what the answer may be; he confines himself to speculation because he is afraid to face the possible reality.

It may be admitted that an obligation to serve abroad, if necessary, in time of war, is a serious matter for a citizen soldier. It is indeed so serious that it is very doubtful whether a sufficient number will accept the obligation. Nevertheless the fact is quite clear that for purposes of war no narrower liability can be of any value in the effort to meet our requirements. Mr Haldane, with suspicious candour, has admitted that the end to be attained has not come within his purview. 'I have never been able,' he says, 'to work out the standard of the requirements of the Empire.' Nor has anybody else; but many have tried, within the limits of personal knowledge, to work out a rough estimate; and it cannot be supposed that Mr Haldane, after a year's study of military problems, has formed no kind of estimate for himself. The problem of the defence of India must have come before him; does he accept Lord Kitchener's estimate of our requirements for security in that quarter? Or the estimate of Lord Roberts? Or neither? Or, if neither, has he discovered or evolved any estimate of those requirements which leads him to believe that they would be fulfilled by a force of 160,000 men, maintained in the field for six months? Mr Haldane evades the question of requirements altogether.

'Though we are not laying down any standard of requirements for the Empire, we are keeping together a force which is better prepared for war than any force which we have hitherto had; and that seems to me to satisfy the requirements of the Empire, at all events more than at the present time, while one is prejudicing nothing and no principle.'

This also may be all quite true, and we may be grateful in reason, but the intensity of our gratitude will depend on the proportion which the improvement bears to the deficiency. If a man has the bailiffs in his house for a debt of a hundred pounds, and has only threepence to meet the bill, it will not comfort him much to find another penny in his overcoat pocket. The actual increase in fighting power given by this new scheme will be very small when compared to the gap that is yet to be filled; and Mr Haldane, in spite of his political optimism, must know this very well.

Nevertheless, although the actual increase in fighting power is small compared with the increase which is required to ensure safety, there is reason to hope that the efficiency of our inadequate force will be notably improved by Mr Haldane's organisation. He has dealt with the material and the money at his disposal in a workmanlike manner; and, although there will certainly be much difference of opinion with regard to the necessity or the value of the various measures of reform which he advocates, it must be admitted that sound reasons or weighty authority can be adduced in favour of each one of them. The alterations in the organisation of the 'first line,' the force for war oversea, are mainly four: the self-contained division, the allotment of cavalry duties, the provision of men from civil life for certain technical and administrative services on mobilisation, and the scheme of *dépôt* battalions. As to the first, there is practical unanimity of approval for the proposed formation; the new divisions, which can be grouped into armies to suit the conditions of a campaign, are yet capable, both administratively and tactically, of independent action. Organisation in army corps is suitable for great military Powers which can produce a score of them; for us, who have never been able to complete three, except on paper, the system is cumbrous and unpractical. The efficacy of the divisional formation also, especially for oversea

service, has been proved by the ease and certainty with which the Japanese armies in the late war were despatched, combined, and redistributed to meet the varying exigencies of the campaign.

The distinction which has been drawn between the strategic and the protective duties of cavalry, and the consequent allotment of our available mounted troops to independent cavalry, army cavalry, and divisional cavalry, are a belated effort to conform to views which have long ago been accepted by the leaders of military thought in continental countries. It seems probable that Mr Haldane, or his advisers, may have been informed or reminded of these views by the simultaneous and opportune appearance of these two books on the subject, both of them translations from the German, in which the necessity for the distinction is put beyond doubt. These books, happily enough, are absolutely complementary one to another; General von Bernhardt, in 'Cavalry in Modern War,' attacks the subject theoretically and arrives at his conclusions by deduction. General von Pelet-Narbonne, in 'Cavalry on Service,' adopts the inductive method; he has selected from history a single, but very complete series of operations of a cavalry force, and from the actual success or failure of the methods adopted by or forced upon it, has suggested certain general principles. The conclusions of Bernhardt and the general principles of Pelet-Narbonne are, on many points, in agreement, and on one are identical, namely, that the cavalry of an army in the field has two distinct duties to perform, and that the same force cannot simultaneously perform both. These duties are, shortly, strategic reconnaissance and protection; that part of the cavalry which is detailed to carry out the first must have complete independence of movement, that which performs the second must be strictly tied to the army which it protects. Strategic reconnaissance is essentially an offensive operation; protection is defensive. The first implies concentration, to overcome the hostile cavalry; the second implies dispersion, to guard all avenues of approach. If only one force is available for both purposes, then, when it proceeds on reconnaissance, the army will be left exposed; if it remains to guard the army, it will acquire but little information of the enemy. The Germans, therefore, in

war, divide their cavalry into two portions, 'cavalry divisions' for reconnaissance, and 'divisional (or corps) cavalry' for protection. General von Bernhardt defines the two functions as those of intelligence and security.

'Fundamentally different arrangements' (he says) 'are necessary to fulfil these two purposes. Any one who attempted to entrust both the provision of intelligence and the protection of the troops to one and the same body of men would, in the vast majority of cases, fail to secure either purpose so long as the enemy's mounted forces still held the field. To secure information, i.e. intelligence, requires concentration of force. The reconnoitring cavalry must beat their opponents out of the field in order to obtain opportunities for discovering what is going on behind the enemy's protective screen. To accomplish this, the cavalry must endeavour to work round the adversary's flanks, and may in consequence have to leave the front of its own army entirely uncovered. The protection of this army, on the other hand, requires a wide extension of front and consequent subdivision of force, the exact opposite of the concentration which the provision of intelligence imperatively calls for.'

This is the theoretical argument. General von Pelet-Narbonne's practical examples point the same moral.

'The deployment of the armies in advancing from their detrainng points was to be protected and concealed, and information to be obtained about the distribution, movements, and intentions of the enemy's forces. These duties, which fall to the cavalry, were of both an offensive and defensive nature, and must be separately carried out to attain a successful result; i.e. the duty of observation must be fundamentally separate from that of protection.'

The recognition of these principles, by those responsible for the efficiency of our army, must be counted as a reform; but in the application of them Mr Haldane has not been successful. It is proposed to allot to the new infantry divisions—semi-independent bodies of nearly 20,000 men each—only two squadrons of yeomanry, as divisional cavalry. This proportion of mounted men is manifestly insufficient, even if the quality were the best that could be provided; and the prospect of having to depend for reconnaissance on some three hundred partially trained men under inexperienced officers will

not be very satisfactory to a divisional commander. It would appear that the divisions have been starved in order that mounted men might be found to form the hybrid formation which is to be called army cavalry, a force of which the functions are indefinite and the value problematic. The system adopted shows an intentional departure from simplicity, with no compensating advantage to justify it.

The third of Mr Haldane's proposals—the provision of men from civil life to take up certain duties with the field army on mobilisation—is frankly an experiment; and its success depends on two conditions which are not yet assured. There is doubt as to whether the men required will come forward; and there is doubt, even if the men come forward, as to their consenting to undergo training sufficient to fit them for immediate service in the field. The first question will be answered definitely before long, but there is reason to expect wide divergences of opinion about the answer to the second. Not only must the standard of fitness for war always be somewhat indefinite and to a great extent a matter of opinion, but there is also the danger that, in order to fulfil the first condition, the second may be waived; that is, that in order to get the men, to show the force on paper, the training may be so relaxed that the services of the men may at first be of little value. And it must be remembered that on these men the fighting power of the whole of the field army is dependent; not one of the six divisions will be able to mobilise without them; not one will be fit for service unless these men are efficient.

The question of the sufficiency, both numerical and military, of these reinforcements for the first line is grave; it cannot be answered except by making the experiment and considering the result. Conjecture and prophecy can carry no weight. But, admitting that the value of the scheme cannot be gauged except by experiment, it remains to be considered whether the experiment is worth making. Here Mr Haldane is on more solid ground. The regular soldier is an expensive article, so expensive that there is little hope that any British Government would maintain an establishment sufficient to provide, on mobilisation, 160,000 regular soldiers, in the proper proportion of the different arms. Also the regular soldier is highly trained; and it

must be admitted that in a modern army there are many services for the proper performance of which a high standard of military training is not essential. These duties, in fact, either approximate to duties which are continuously performed in civil life, such as supply, telegraphy, or railway transport, or they are of a nature so simple, as for instance the driving of ammunition column waggons, that prolonged and continuous training, either civil or military, is unnecessary. Every efficient substitute for a regular soldier will save money to the country; how much exactly he will save cannot be estimated until the result of the experiment is known. For, under a system of voluntary service, these prospective non-military reservists may hold out for such terms as they please; and there will be no choice between giving what they ask and doing without them. It may be expected, however, that the system, if successful, will result in a considerable saving; and a possible increase in the strength of our army for service oversea, if attained with no increase of cost and no diminution of efficiency, is a sufficient excuse for experiments of the boldest nature.

It is perhaps with regard to Mr Haldane's fourth proposition, the establishment of draft-producing depôt battalions, and the extinction of the old militia system, that the greatest volume and intensity of criticism is to be expected. The militia is a landmark; whatever may be its faults and failings, it has great traditions and a historic past. In all times of difficulty and danger, in every great war, as soon as the invariable insufficiency of our preparations became manifest, the militia has closed up its ranks and has gone forth silently, expecting no praise, demanding no reward, to take its place in fighting line or garrison. Its services have earned for it not only the respect and gratitude of the nation, but also the right to retain its place in the national forces, as long as its continued existence can reasonably be justified. For some years this latter question has been in doubt. The quality of the militia has deteriorated owing to the invasion of its recruiting field by the volunteers; its strength has diminished owing to the annual exodus of 12,000 men who enlist from it into the line. The terms of service are of such a nature that it is difficult for a man in regular work to attend a

training, and yet they are so devised that an idle man can easily belong to, and train with, more than one corps. This practice is known to be not uncommon, and renders all returns of strength somewhat untrustworthy.

Moreover, there is the consideration that the militia, when it takes the field, will consent to do so only in its units, and that its officers and men are not available to replace casualties in the regular army. This limitation is one on which there is a considerable divergence of opinion, and it may be well to endeavour to clear it up before proceeding further. The advocates of the present system argue, with apparent reason, that, when men take the field, they should go in the battalions or batteries in which they have been trained in peace, under their own officers, shoulder to shoulder with the comrades they know. If there were anything like an equality of efficiency between militia and line this argument would have weight, especially at the beginning of a war; but it has never been pretended that militia battalions are as efficient as those of the line. Therefore, when the waste of war has reduced regular battalions to a fraction of their proper strength, the question to be decided is whether it is better to reinforce these battalions by adding others of less efficiency, or by filling them up to their full complement by officers and men whom they may absorb and make their own. For example, if a force of regulars in the field had lost 4000 men by casualties, would it be better to send 4000 officers and men to fill the vacancies in the regular battalions, or to reinforce the regulars by a brigade of militia, 4000 strong, in its own battalions? There is no experienced leader who would hesitate for a moment if the choice were offered him; the opinion may be hazarded that there are few who would not prefer to have 2000 militia in drafts rather than 4000 in units.

The opinion that reinforcements sent to the front during the course of a war are more valuable in the form of drafts than in that of units has been held strongly with reference to old and new units much more alike in original efficiency than are line and militia battalions. The system pursued by the Federals, during the American Civil War, of organising new units in preference to filling up the gaps in those already in the field, is con-

sidered by Colonel Henderson, no mean judge, to have affected seriously the efficiency of the Federal Army.

'Thus' (he says in 'The Science of War') 'battalions which had served in more than one campaign and had gained experience and discipline were soon reduced to the strength of a couple of companies; whilst others lately raised boasted a full complement of rifles, but were without officers, commissioned or non-commissioned, capable of instructing or leading their unpractised men.'

Speaking of the arrangements of the State of Wisconsin, which, alone of the Northern States, adopted the system of reinforcing by drafts instead of by units, General Sherman was emphatic in his opinion.

'We estimate a Wisconsin regiment equal to an ordinary brigade. I believe that five hundred new men added to an old and experienced regiment were more valuable than a thousand men in the form of a new regiment, for the former, by association with good experienced captains, lieutenants, and non-commissioned officers, soon became veterans, whereas the latter were generally unavailable for a year.'

The view of the Federal civil authorities, however, who persisted, mainly to meet the wishes of recruits, in organising new units under inexperienced officers, leaving their experienced officers without men to command, is still maintained by some with whom efficiency in war is a consideration second to that of convenience in peace. The Duke of Bedford, a representative militia commanding officer, in his pamphlet on 'The Preservation of the Militia,' frankly bases his opinion on convenience of recruiting, and relegates efficiency to the background.

'The militia' (he says), 'if it is to be recruited by the county authorities, must constitute a second line to the Regular Army, and must not be incorporated into the Regular Army in time of war. No Lord-Lieutenant, no county magnates, no county residents, no senior officers of the militia, can be expected to throw their hearts into the creation of a force which is not to be allowed to go on service as a complete unit under its own officers, but which is to be used merely as a drafting force and lose its identity in the ranks of the Line.'

This may be true; but if so, it seems to show a curious narrow-mindedness in these county personages that they

should be unwilling to do for the county regular battalions the service which the Duke of Bedford evidently expects them to do for the county militia battalions. Are we to suppose that in case of war the county gentlemen of Bedfordshire would care nothing for the efficiency of the 1st Battalion Bedfordshire Regiment, fighting in the first line, but would centre their attention on the 3rd Battalion Bedfordshire Regiment, in garrison at Malta? If this be so, then the upper classes of this country must have strangely limited ideas of patriotism and a remarkable lack of the sense of proportion. It may be that the Duke of Bedford's opinion of the character of his neighbours is unduly pessimistic; but it must be admitted that misplaced *esprit de corps* of this kind is too prevalent. There are some volunteers, some yeomen, some militiamen, and a good many regulars, whose view of all military problems is limited to the influence of these problems on their own particular force. The idea of a national army is beyond them; each will fight for his own petty privileges, however damaging these privileges may be to the welfare of the army as a whole. If Mr Haldane's scheme succeeds there will be at least a diminution in the number of the opposing factions; on one side will be the regular army with its two reserves, and on the other a homogeneous territorial army. Even a limited and prejudiced mind may be able to grasp the essential principles on which the two forces are organised and to understand that efficiency gained by either at the expense of the other would be detrimental to the national interest.

In considering the effect of the substitution of dépôt battalions for militia battalions, however, there is one apparent disadvantage in the new scheme, that is, the loss of militia units which until now have always volunteered for garrison service abroad in time of war, thus setting free regular battalions for field service. From a proviso in his Bill, offering to the units of the territorial force the option of volunteering for such service in time of war, Mr Haldane apparently expects that the tradition of the militia in this respect will be handed on. Theoretically the conditions are unaltered; the militia was free to volunteer for service abroad, or to refrain, as it liked; the territorial army will be equally free. But

with regard to the militia, there was a certain confidence, based on past experience; militia battalions looked on volunteering for service as almost a moral obligation. The view which the territorial army may take is quite problematic; the only inducement that is provided is the law that this force, when the situation is sufficiently serious, shall be embodied for training. Once embodied, it is not unlikely that many may see no additional hardship in continuing their training, for a time, abroad.

The measures of reform which Mr Haldane intends to apply to the auxiliary forces are, as has already been noted, mainly in the direction of improvement of organisation; and his efforts towards this end are characterised by sound military instinct and by some boldness. The main defect is evident; he is organising a fighting machine which cannot be counted on to fight except in the remote contingency of invasion. Otherwise the organisation appears to be suitable and capable of further extension. But over the whole scheme is a cloud of doubt which can only be cleared up by experience. There is no certainty that Mr Haldane will get the men he wants under the conditions which he proposes; he may have to choose between a shortage of personnel on one hand and, on the other, either a relaxation of the conditions of service or an increase of cost. If men fail to come forward in sufficient numbers, nothing will bring them forward but additional inducements; and these can only be provided by lightening the personal burden or by increasing the personal reward. If the first be adopted, the standard of efficiency, low enough already, will fall still lower; if the second be adopted, the army estimates, already high enough, will rise still higher. It is not impossible that both results may ensue. If the men required do come forward and accept the increased obligation and diminished inducements which Mr Haldane offers, then his scheme will be safe. But that will not make the country safe.

Mr Haldane has gone as far as he dares in the direction of efficient organisation. If he has gauged correctly the endurance of the volunteer under the burden piled upon him by the rest of the community, his arrangement may last until the volunteer awakes to the fact that in addition to his own work he is doing the work of ten other men who are idle, and that he is accepting a risk that ten

other men, who are cautious, are evading. If Mr Haldane has made a mistake in his estimate of the patience of the volunteers, then his scheme for a territorial army must fail. If it should fail, then the country must be prepared to consider seriously the question of compulsion; for it is generally admitted that in these proposals the limit of the voluntary system has been reached. The minority of the nation, by whom the auxiliary forces are provided, cannot be expected to make unlimited sacrifices for the benefit of the majority; the doubt about Mr Haldane's scheme is whether it has not exceeded the limit of the sacrifices which the minority are prepared to make. Under the voluntary system the volunteer has always before him the contrast between his own position and that of the majority who do nothing, the majority whose right to evade service is the fundamental principle of the system. It is not surprising that the volunteer should insist on making his own terms; the surprising point is that his terms are so moderate. But it is he who commands the market; it is on the class of man who now fills the ranks of the volunteer forces and on each man's interpretation of his duty to the State that the success of the scheme, as a scheme, depends. For it is to these men, and not to the nation at large, that Mr Haldane's appeal is made; he cannot expect that those others who have shirked the lesser obligation will accept the greater. If an appeal be made to the nation as a whole, the appeal must be for compulsion, that is, for universal service, for it is ridiculous to appeal to the man who does not volunteer to work a little harder and take a little more risk. While the possibility of evasion exists, service, even the limited service of the volunteer, is to a certain extent a hardship, for the distribution of the burden is unjust. If the injustice be removed the weight of the burden would be almost unnoticed.

The success of Mr Haldane's scheme, therefore, may be said to depend on the possibility of his obtaining the men he requires at a reasonable cost. The scheme itself is in advance of any former proposals; it contains sound measures of reform and is no bar to further reform. Its insufficiency is due to the inherent defects of the voluntary system to which Mr Haldane is tied; and the fact is quite clear that, under that system, no great improvement on

this scheme can be hoped for. For every reason the scheme should have a fair trial. Those who adhere firmly to the principle of voluntary service will find in these proposals the extreme possibility of the voluntary system; those who favour conscription, or compulsion, or universal training, will perceive that the whole voluntary system is undergoing its final trial. The regular army will recognise an effort to produce a field army which, although too large for a small war and too small for a large war, will yet be complete and organically sound. The auxiliary forces will have what they have always wanted, organisation, and should be able to understand that practical organisation of these forces is impossible without radical alterations in their constitution.

So profound is Mr Haldane's subtlety that people of the most diverse opinions can find a point of view from which the scheme presents a favourable aspect. With the exception of Mr Arnold-Forster, whose regretful eyes still linger on his own rejected masterpiece, nobody is likely to condemn the proposals as a whole. Criticism of details is inevitable; and these Mr Haldane appears to be prepared to meet with undaunted, even cheerful front. And in his defence of his theories we may wish him success, for if the scheme in its entirety be put on its trial, then, whether it succeeds or fails, the attention of the country will have been directed to certain problems which have hitherto been neglected, problems on the correct solution of which the very existence of the nation may depend.

Art. IX.—THE CHARACTER OF GOETHE. ✓

1. *Goethe, sein Leben und seine Werke.* By Dr Albert Bielschowsky. Two vols. Tenth edition. Munich: Beck, 1906.
2. *The Life of Goethe.* By Albert Bielschowsky, Ph.D. Authorised translation by W. A. Cooper, A.M. Three vols. Vol. I. New York and London: Putnam, 1905.
3. *Goethe.* By J. Firmery. New edition. Paris, 1897.
4. *Goethe.* By Richard M. Meyer. Second edition. Berlin: Hofmann, 1898.
5. *Goethe.* By Georg Witkowski. Leipzig and Berlin: Seeman, 1899.
6. *Goethe en France: Étude de Littérature comparée.* By F. Baldensperger. Paris: Hachette, 1904.
7. *Études sur Goethe.* By Paul Stapfer. Paris: Armand Colin, 1906.

IN a letter to Carlyle, written in 1837, John Sterling says:

‘As to reading, I have been looking at Goethe, specially the “Life,” much as a shying horse looks at a post. In truth, I am afraid of him. I enjoy and admire him so much, and feel I could so easily be tempted to go along with him. And yet I have a deeply-rooted and old persuasion that he was the most splendid of anachronisms. A thoroughly, nay intensely pagan life, in an age when it is men’s duty to be Christian. I therefore never take him up without a kind of inward check, as if I were trying some forbidden spell.’

In his tale, ‘The Onyx Ring,’ Sterling embodied in the character of the poet Walsingham the conception of Goethe to which he here gives expression. He came eventually to take a very different view of the character and work of Goethe, and, in Carlyle’s words, put him on the throne of his intellectual world; but the interest of his original view is that, since Goethe first attracted attention in this country, it has been the view of the average cultivated Englishman, and precisely on the grounds indicated by Sterling—Goethe’s ‘thoroughly, nay intensely pagan life.’ The aversion of Wordsworth and Coleridge—characteristically English in their feelings and sympathies—rested on the same grounds. Coleridge tells us that he was pressed to translate the first part of ‘Faust’;

and one of the two reasons he alleges for not undertaking the task was the consideration whether 'it became my moral character to render into English, and so far, certainly, lend my countenance to language, much of which I thought vulgar, licentious, and blasphemous.' To Dr Arnold, another typically English mind, the Prologue in Heaven was the expression of a profoundly unchristian spirit, to which reverence must be an inaccessible feeling. In Mr R. H. Hutton's memorable essay on Goethe the same point of view and the instinctive aversion it inspired are expressed with a fulness and subtlety of detail which have assured its permanent interest as a representative English criticism of Goethe.

There have, indeed, been eminent English critics who have seen Goethe with other eyes. Not to speak of his first and greatest apostle, Carlyle—the last man we could call English—Matthew Arnold, Sir John Seeley, and Henry Sidgwick received Goethe with no such misgivings as those originally felt by Sterling, and freely acknowledged him as one of the safest and sagest guides in the 'conduct of life.' But, in different ways, the three critics just named were pre-eminently non-English in their cast of thought and in their conception of the gospel most needed by their countrymen. 'Concerning Goethe,' says Prof. Dowden, 'the British public have always had their doubts and scruples'; and the general attitude of English critics towards Goethe since the beginning amply confirms the assertion. It was a sure instinct that guided them in their suspicion of something in Goethe that was new, strange, and alien to the traditions on which were based the fundamental conceptions of the English mind regarding man's relations to himself, to his fellows, and to the nature that produced him. To this element in Goethe they gave the name of 'paganism,' at once as a description and a stigma; and, whether we call it by this name or by the designation which Goethe himself gave it—*reine Menschlichkeit*, whole and sound humanity—it was an element which, if admitted as a principle in the guidance of life, must transform its aims, its ideals, and its animating tendency.

Goethe's so-called 'paganism' has been the chief factor in preventing his cordial acceptance by English readers; but there are other characteristics of his work which of

themselves would sufficiently explain the comparative coolness of his reception. Even on purely literary grounds there is not one of his productions which was fitted to compel instantaneous and unquestioning admiration in the English mind. As these works were successively introduced to English readers, there was some inherent shortcoming discerned in each of them which critics, naturally disposed to be unsympathetic to their author, could easily magnify without apparent injustice. The first in the series, 'Götz von Berlichingen,' could not be expected to make a great impression on a public familiar with its great models, the historical plays of Shakespeare. Nor could Werther, though Macpherson's Ossian was one of his spiritual ancestry, inspire the emotion he evoked in other countries, since Ossian himself had not moved the Briton as he had moved the Frenchman and the German. Even the first part of 'Faust,' the most characteristic and most puissant expression of Goethe's genius, had grave defects in the eyes of critics whose ideas of dramatic conditions had been formed on the Shakespearian tragedies; and when Coleridge said of it that it has 'neither causation nor progression,' and that it is a succession of 'mere magic-lantern pictures,' he only expressed the natural conclusion of English critics. 'Wilhelm Meister,' though a landmark in the history of modern literature, has been, and will probably ever remain, in spite of the eulogies of Carlyle, a dark problem for English readers, which for the most part they will agree to leave to the ingenuousness and ingenuity of its author's own countrymen. Of the last of the long series—the second part of 'Faust'—it is enough to say that its phantasmagoric symbolism was as little fitted to impress the Englishman as the prosaic detail of 'Meister.'

It is only when we survey Goethe's work in its totality that we realise the vastness of its scope and its permanent significance. But on a generation or generations of readers, to whom his successive productions, each with its own imperfections, were introduced only at long intervals, he could not make the impression which is the result of such a survey. What strikes us in the early English criticism of Goethe is its unconsciousness of the appearance of one of the master-minds of the race. Doubtless, he might be regarded as a person of some importance in Germany,

which had no great literature in the past; but to make of him a writer of universal significance seemed but the numorous folly of a nation in its intellectual childhood. To an Edinburgh reviewer in 1816 'Wahrheit und Dichtung' appeared a literary impertinence and only another example of 'the mingled rant and sickliness of German literature.' In De Quincey's contemptuous review of 'Wilhelm Meister' (1824) there is no suggestion that he has any consciousness of the stature of the author with whom he is dealing. If Carlyle, as Seeley says, was an inadequate interpreter of Goethe to England, he has at least the signal merit of divining his real importance, and of assigning him his definitive place as one of the great counsellors of humanity. But even the potent voice of Carlyle could not convince the intelligent majority of his countrymen that he was not worshipping an idol of his own fancy; and it was not till the middle of last century that the average reviewer spoke of Goethe in terms which revealed a perception of his range and quality. In the same publication which in 1816 had treated 'Wahrheit und Dichtung' with such easy contempt, we find a writer, though distinctly hostile to what he considered Goethe's profound moral defects, using these words of him in 1857:

'When we consider the variety, the power, the charm of his style; the profound and delicate insight into the human heart; the classical polish and grace, without the least tinge of pedantry; the wide, deep and harmonious views of Nature; the exquisite taste in Art; the masterly handling of a language formerly reputed harsh, but which he has made musical, expressive, and graceful—when we consider in how many ways he is second only to those who have been first in one alone, we scarcely know whom to set above him.'

The article from which this sentence is quoted is a review of Lewes's 'Life,' the appearance of which is, after Carlyle's various utterances, the most notable literary event in Goethe's literary fortunes in England. Yet it can hardly be said that Lewes's book materially modified the general English estimate of Goethe which had come to prevail at the time of its publication. Brilliant as the book is from many points of view, it was perhaps lacking precisely in the qualities requisite to impress public opinion. From beginning to end it has the character

of an apology for Goethe's life and the tendency of his teaching; and the impression it leaves as a whole is that one whose conduct and writing needed so much to be said in his defence must remain an equivocal figure alike as a man and as a creative artist. From about the time when Lewes's book appeared, however, Goethe's greatness as a writer was a fact accepted by every competent English critic; and it was no longer possible to speak of him as De Quincey had done in his review of 'Meister'—a review which, it is significant, in deference to the change of public opinion regarding Goethe, he materially altered in the collected edition of his works which appeared in 1859. But, if the estimate of Goethe's genius had thus risen, the original suspicion regarding his personal character and the tendency of his writings did not change; and the average Englishman still looks at him 'as a shying horse at a post,' as one who is essentially pagan 'when it is men's duty to be Christian.'

The national expression of opinion which a great writer's work evokes is a part of that work itself as well as a collective critical estimate of its value. We have seen what has been the general trend of opinion in England regarding Goethe; how he has been received in France is the subject M. Baldensperger's book 'Goethe en France.' In an octavo volume of nearly four hundred pages he has collected from newspapers, magazines, and books the judgments passed by French writers on Goethe from the date of the appearance of his earliest works. Antecedently we might have expected that his reception in France would have been more favourable than in England. His personal relations with France were closer; he frankly admitted that he owed to France the best part of his culture; and he even incurred the odium of his own countrymen by his cordial appreciation of France and her people. His 'paganism,' also, it might have been supposed, would not be a serious stumbling-block with a nation which has the repute of being the Gallio among its neighbours. Yet the conclusion of M. Baldensperger's book is that Sterling's comparison of the shying horse and the post is as applicable on the one side of the Channel as on the other. 'Geneva' and 'Rome,' we are succinctly told, have been Goethe's steady adversaries in France, and together they have in a large

degree determined opinion regarding him. For Lacordaire Goethe was *un mauvais génie*; and Lamennais writes, with special reference to 'Faust,' 'Je me figure quelquefois que ce grand charlatan entendait à merveille qu'il ne s'entendait pas et riait en lui-même des pauvres nigauds qui se creuseraient un jour la cervelle pour trouver le mot d'une énigme qui n'en a point.' As an expression of the attitude of 'Geneva' we may take the judgment of Amiel—a 'Genevan' at heart though he had broken with religious dogma. Goethe, he says, 'ignore la sainteté et n'a jamais voulu réfléchir sur le terrible problème du mal. Il n'est jamais arrivé au sentiment de l'obligation et du péché'—a sentence which contains the burden of R. H. Hutton's indictment of Goethe.

In France, as in England, it has been with those who have broken with traditional beliefs and sentiments that Goethe has found his account; and his chief believers have been spirits like George Sand, Théophile Gautier, Sainte-Beuve, Renan, and Taine. For Taine Goethe was 'le maître de tous les esprits modernes'; and George Sand is equally emphatic in her recognition of his significance. Goethe, she says, 'n'était pas seulement un grand écrivain; c'était un beau caractère, une noble nature, un cœur droit, désintéressé. . . . C'est une grande figure sereine au milieu des ténèbres de la nuit.' As marking the development of opinion regarding Goethe in France, M. Baldensperger quotes two sentences, one written in 1847 and the other in 1862, which indicate a close parallel with the similar development in England:

'Il s'est trouvé alors [in 1826] parmi nous' (writes the critic of 1847), 'une école littéraire [that of Romanticism] qui a essayé d'introduire en France le culte, l'adoration de Goethe à la manière allemande. Il a résulté de cette tentative quelques travaux distingués et des résultats utiles; l'attention a été excitée, le cercle des idées a été un peu élargi, le public a admiré avec des réserves un génie étrange qui le touchait, le choquait et le déroutait en même temps; mais en somme le culte n'a pas pris, et je doute qu'il prenne jamais.'

It was about the middle of last century, we have seen, that the true import of Goethe began to be apprehended in England; and the following sentence, written in 1862, indicates a similar growth of opinion in France:

'La disposition générale, et en même temps, par quelques côtés, très spéciale qu'on me permettra d'appeler "l'esprit goethéen," est chez nous, je le sais, fort étendue, surtout depuis une quinzaine d'années, et elle tend, chaque jour, à se répandre davantage.'

The more favourable prospects for Goethe in France, however, were merely temporary; the war of 1870 came, and Goethe, with all things German, passed under the ban of French opinion. It was under the cloud of national humiliation that Edmond Scherer wrote his stringent article on Goethe to which Matthew Arnold called attention in this Review, and which is the French parallel to the essay of Hutton, though its strictures rest on literary rather than on ethical grounds. Yet, as the memories of 1870 are passing away, M. Baldensperger assures us that the star of Goethe is again in the ascendant in France; and, if the excellent biography of him by M. Firmery, and the republished studies of M. Paul Stapfer are representative of general French opinion, the conclusion seems well founded. More convincing, however, is another judgment of M. Baldensperger, based as it is on the working of Goethe's genius for over a century, and applicable not only to France, but to every country that has passed under the discipline of Christianity.

'Goethe est encore engagé en quelque mesure dans le départ qui se fit entre deux catégories nouvelles d'intelligences, les unes surtout soucieuses de ranimer la tradition religieuse ou nationale, les autres disposées à se préoccuper plutôt des exigences rationnelles et des suggestions de la conscience et de l'esprit critique.'

A divider of spirits, indeed, must Goethe continue to be till the cross is garlanded with roses, as Brother Marcus in 'Die Geheimnisse' found it at the hostel on the hill.

'Es steht das Kreuz mit Rosen dicht umschlungen,

Wer hat dem Kreuze Rosen zugesellt?

Es schwillt der Kranz, um recht von allen Seiten

Das schroffe Holz mit Weichheit zu begleiten.

Of these hesitations and reserves we find no suggestion in the more recent German biographies of Goethe. Even in his own country, as we know, Goethe has had his periods of obscurity; there have been German detractors of his personal character, of his genius, and of

the tendency of his teaching. But these days seem now to have gone by; and his orb can hardly become more full and resplendent than it is at the present moment in Germany. In the estimation of all three biographers above noted, 'the Eternal did create Goethe to be a guide to the universe'—the mission for which Joseph de Maistre's youthful friend thought that Chateaubriand had been specially selected. Different as these German biographies are in scope and merit, their authors are one in spirit, one in intention, one in their attitude of reverential admiration, passing not infrequently into breathless adoration. 'The most beautiful of lives that ever was lived,' exclaims Prof. Meyer, 'had the most beautiful end'; of Goethe's place of burial he writes:

'For the German people this is a holy grave, to which thousands repair in reverential homage, by which they linger in pious edification. But we know that Goethe is not to be found there. Where two hearts beat in enthusiasm for eternal beauty, Goethe is there with them. And when one solitary heart in ardent longing strives after the Highest, then rises the feeling, "Thou hoverest around me, exalted Spirit."'

Of the three biographies noted, that of Dr Bielschowsky has found the widest acceptance in Germany; and its popularity is itself a notable proof of the hold that Goethe has taken of the German mind. The first volume was published in 1895 and the second in 1903; and the completed work is now in its tenth edition. A circumstance connected with its production affords another testimony to the national interest in its subject; its author, a teacher in Berlin, broke down in health while engaged on his work, and the Government relieved him of his official duties to enable him to complete it. That his book should have had such a warm reception in Germany we can easily understand. The labour of a lifetime, it embodies the results of the vast literature that has grown up round Goethe since his death in 1832. Its tone of reverential homage is in the key which the general reader likes to be struck in the case of national heroes. It is, moreover, a thoroughly German book—German in its effusiveness, in its minuteness of detail, in the largeness of its scope.

That such a book on such a theme should be translated

for the benefit of English readers was certainly highly desirable; but it may be doubted if it is the kind of book that will appeal to them or increase their sympathy with Goethe. The first volume of a translation (to consist of three volumes instead of the two of the original) has already appeared; and printers and publishers have done their best to make the work attractive. If the translator, Mr Cooper, has not been so happy in his task, the reader of the original will sympathise with him. The style of Dr Bielschowsky has been much commended by his countrymen, but it is a style that is not easily transmutable into English. It is pitched in a key to which English writing does not ordinarily rise; and the translator is thus out of tune with the mood of the average English reader. And Mr Cooper has so thoroughly imbued himself with the spirit of his author that, as is apt to happen, he has frequently taken over his idioms as well as his sense. He tells us, for example, that his author's book has 'experienced' many editions, and that it 'was woman's work that compromised the misunderstanding between Goethe and the Jacobis.' Mr Cooper's translation abounds with such Germanisms; but the difficulties of his task will appear in his rendering of a sentence, which is a typical one of the original:

'Die drei jungen Mädchen und die geistvolle Frau Mercks gruppierten sich aber zugleich um einen anderen Darmstädter, der ihrer Sinnesart weit näher stand, um den in schönen Empfindungen und Gedanken sich wiegenden, galanten Leuchsenring, eine weiche Natur, durchtränkt von Georg Jacobis stisser Milch und von Klopstockschem Thränenwasser.'

All the nine muses would need to be at the elbow of a translator who should essay to do such a passage into commendable English; this is how Mr Cooper accomplishes the feat:

'The three young girls and Mercks' intellectual wife formed, however, at the same time a coterie about another man in Darmstadt, whose disposition was more nearly like their own, the gallant Leuchsenring, who revelled in beautiful thoughts and emotions, a tender nature, saturated with the sweet pap of Georg Jacobi and the tears of Klopstock.'

A book written in such a style seems hardly destined to be popular with English readers; and its substance is

not likely to make it more acceptable. With necessarily fuller and more accurate knowledge, Dr Bielschowsky adopts virtually the same attitude to his subject as Lewes; for Goethe's character, and the questionable actions of his life, he is an unswerving apologist, and of his writings he speaks in the tone of panegyric. In the case of Friederike Brion we have a typical illustration of his attitude to his subject. There is no incident in Goethe's life which has evoked severer animadversion than his conduct to Friederike. According to his own account (and it should not be forgotten that he is himself virtually the only authority for the story), he gained the affections of this simple daughter of a country pastor, lived for a few months in a dream of passion, and finally deserted her. Dr Bielschowsky's justification (for a justification it is meant to be) of Goethe's conduct is as follows—we give it in Mr Cooper's translation:

'Goethe had formed an ideal for himself, which it seemed to him would be destroyed by a union with Friederike. The giant had no desire to lead the life of a dwarf. Hence the inward unrest, the vacillation of his soul, and the feeling that he was grasping after shadows, when he began to think of the consequences of his love. "In what a terrible state of mind I found myself when I heard them speak of marriage." His ideals tormented him, they drove him irresistibly to plunge into the flood of fate, to try there his titanic power and live up to his capabilities. In the presence of such a demonic impulse toward life and freedom, which asserts itself as a natural necessity, it is out of place to speak of right or wrong. Great geniuses, less masters of themselves than other men are, must, like the mighty forces of nature, follow the laws inherent in themselves. They are sent to redeem humanity, while in the fulfilment of their mission they become entangled in guilt. So also Goethe.'

We have quoted this passage at length because it is an excellent specimen of our author's manner, and at the same time indicates the spirit in which he conceived his subject. The judgment he will pass on what he calls *den dunkelsten Punkt* in Goethe's life—his relations to his mother—we can confidently anticipate. It will be remembered that between the date of his leaving his home in Frankfurt, in 1775, and the date of his mother's death, in 1808, he only saw her thrice, and that before she died he

had not visited her for eleven years. Recently, in this Review, a writer reprobated, in the strongest terms, Goethe's filial neglect, regarding it as a conclusive proof of a nature incapable of genuine affection, and swayed in all its impulses by a calculating egotism. It is interesting, therefore, to see what construction Dr Bielschowsky puts on Goethe's conduct in this reference.

'Was Goethe, indeed' (he asks), 'the egotist many of his contemporaries and a still greater number of persons since have represented him? We who to-day have a deeper insight than our predecessors into the workings of his soul will not give our vote for this tattle; rather, with those who stood nearest him, and who never raised the slightest reproach against him in this relation, we shall seek an explanation of the apparent riddle' (ii, 29).

And, briefly put, this is the solution of the riddle which is offered to us. It was of prime importance for Goethe, if he was to bring forth and give to the world all that was in him, that Weimar should be his permanent home. But there was always a possibility that the attractions of his native Frankfurt might prove too strong for him; and among these attractions affection for his mother was the most powerful.

'But could he' (asks Dr Bielschowsky), 'with his passionate feeling and his natural softness of heart, be certain that, by the side of his mother, and exposed to a hundred flattering influences, he would not take the disastrous resolution' (ii, 81).

And turning round on the impugners of his hero, he indignantly exclaims:

'As if this man thought only of himself and not of the world; as if he would not have inflicted the greatest injury on the world had he maimed his production out of regard to these considerations!'

These extracts may suffice to indicate Dr Bielschowsky's general attitude towards 'the case against Goethe,' as it has been put by less friendly critics. Let us now hear his tone when he speaks of his works. Of 'Werther' he writes as follows, in Mr Cooper's rendering:

'We have followed the inevitable development with bated breath; and, when the bullet puts an end to the life of the weary wanderer, we, the cool, corroded sons of the twentieth

century, are inclined to mingle our tears with the aged steward's and kiss the lips of the departed. In "Werther" fell the noblest and purest of human souls. With inexhaustible love he embraced mankind and shared all their joys and sorrows; it was his greatest delight to help the children and the poor; to him, as to his Saviour, they were dearest; nothing harsh or evil entered his breast, and he shuddered as he embraced Lotte, though but in a dream.'

The work, as a whole, is thus characterised :

'This wonderful novel in letters glistens and gleams with all the forms and colours of style; and weariness is wholly a stranger to it. From the great periods, rushing on in splendid cascades, at the beginning of "Werther" to the last terse lapidary sentences which roll over the grave like the rumbling salutes of cannon, this style captivates and agitates our hearts.'

There is one critical chapter in Dr Bielschowsky's book which is in curious contrast to the others. As he unfortunately died before the completion of his work, the treatment of 'Faust' was entrusted to Prof. Ziegler of Strassburg, and the result is a strangely dissonant note in the general tone of the book. In the freest spirit Prof. Ziegler discusses the question which has tormented German critics from the beginning—the question of the essential unity of the poem as a whole—and his conclusion is decisively for the negative. Even to the first part he denies the organic unity which is a necessary condition of a perfect work of art. He finds in it a blending of Goethe's earlier and later styles incompatible with the harmony of tone which is the evidence of a great conception issuing fresh and whole from the artist's consciousness. Elements, moreover, have been arbitrarily thrown into the poem, as in the *Walpurgisnachtstraum*, which have no natural place there; and, most serious blemish of all, the poet has only a wavering and uncertain grasp of the central motive of his work. With the second part of the poem Prof. Ziegler deals still more stringently. He holds, in fact, that Goethe, as the result of his own development, was antecedently disqualified from continuing the drama to its necessary conclusion. In the Second Part Faust is 'the type and representative of striving and struggling humanity'; but, when Goethe

took it up near the close of his life, his own mental attitude was that of a contemplative repose to which unrest was alien and distasteful. Even in the opening scene, according to Prof. Ziegler, the wrong chord is struck. 'The ethical element is wanting,' he says, 'and ethical should have been the working of the Gretchen tragedy on Faust.' Beautiful as the scene is, it is essentially 'operatic,' and the question must always rise whether Gretchen should have been so completely ignored in Faust's emergence into a higher life. 'Operatic' and 'unmotiviert,' indeed, are the words which Prof. Ziegler constantly applies to successive scenes in the second part; and his judgment on it as a whole is virtually that of D. F. Strauss, and accepted by other German critics, that it is 'ein allegorisch-schemenhaftes Produkt.'

We have said that Dr Bielschowsky's biography is not a book that appears likely to appeal to English readers or to win English sympathies for Goethe. This, it need not be said, is no disparagement of a book which was primarily written for the author's own countrymen, who have shown their appreciation of its merits. To every student of literature, indeed, German or not, the book must be one deserving of high regard. Merely as a prolonged illustration of the different mental temperature of nations it suggests interesting speculations on the absolute value of literary standards. We can ourselves indulge in outpourings on Shakespeare and Scott; but the strain to which Dr Bielschowsky rises, and which appears to find a response in German hearts, is beyond us. Who may say on which side virtue lies? But the book is further interesting as an irrefragable witness to the position which Goethe now holds among his own people. Long regarded with suspicion, and even aversion, as one devoid of patriotic feeling (one of his worst shortcomings in the eyes of Englishmen also), he is now hailed as one of the chief glories of his nation, of which he has been the principal builder and inspirer and instructor. Prof. Ziegler, we have seen, is no blind adorer of Goethe, and yet this is how he sums up the work which Goethe has done for Germany:

'Without Goethe no Bismarck; without Goethe no German people! That Germans might become a people politically, it was necessary that they should first become a people one in

spirit and one in feeling, with a common speech and a common culture, and, we would gladly add, a common faith. The creation of such a united people has been the work of our poets and thinkers, and above all of Goethe, the most perfect representative of German art and of the German nature in general, who for our faith likewise has bequeathed as his legacy—the recognition of the universal presence of the Divine, and therefore, as its necessary consequence, a just and mild reverence before all that is human; for Man also is God. Thus, to conclude, Goethe's ideal of whole and sound humanity (*reine Menschlichkeit*) is the goal to which we must strive. In this sense he was the first Stadtholder in the kingdom of the German spirit, the first Chancellor in spiritually united Germany, as Weimar through him became our first spiritual capital. But Goethe does not belong merely to his own people, he belongs also to the whole human race. With Shakespeare and Homer he is the only world-poet, one who speaks his own national speech and yet speaks for every people, and who, we may at the present day even add, speaks in a tongue intelligible for all time.'

Such is the position, we are led to infer, which is now generally assigned to Goethe in Germany, at once as an ethical and an intellectual force. That the world in general will ever accept this estimate of the essentially beneficent working of Goethe's genius may well be doubted. Even in Germany there are still dissentients who abide by the old charges against his personal character and the tendency of his writings. His ethical standards, these dissentients tell us, are not for the good of the German people; his ideals are not national ideals, and it would be disastrous for Germany were they to become so. The true German character is impersonated in Luther, with his expansiveness, his spontaneity, his social instincts, and not in one like Goethe, who sought his inspiration outside his own nation, who was devoid of popular sympathies, and whose ideal was an intellectual aristocracy, and not a commonwealth based on the foundation of religion, of simple feeling and of human brotherhood.

✓ How is it, we are driven to ask, that such divergent views should be entertained regarding one of whom we may safely say that we possess fuller authentic information than regarding any other of the world's great men? Of his life, from birth to the grave, we have details so

precise that he is ever before us a living personality, acting or acted upon by the successive influences by which he was surrounded. From the testimonies of friends and foes, from his own set productions, from his voluminous letters and journals, we have a portrait of a human being, with his moral, mental, and physical characteristics in their totality, such as, we might have supposed, must have left no room for doubt regarding the manner of man he was. As Sir John Seeley has remarked, 'we may almost say that Goethe has compensated to mankind for its almost total loss of the biography of Shakespeare.' Yet, doubtless, the very abundance of the information we possess regarding him is one cause of the diverse impressions he makes on different minds. To grasp his life and achievement as a whole can only be the attainment of a few specialists; and it is thus only from particular aspects of his work that the majority of those who read him can form their opinions regarding its general tendency.

But in the case of Goethe it is not only the wealth of material that is bewildering; in his character and in his genius there is an elusiveness of which he was himself well aware, and which struck every sensitive observer. 'In some respects I resemble a chameleon,' he wrote of himself when he was in his fifteenth year. 'Is my Alexis to be blamed, then, if he has not studied all my phases?' Writing of him at the age of twenty-five, Fritz Jacobi says: 'Goethe is as one possessed, and almost never has any choice as to what he shall do'; and Felix Mendelssohn, who saw him about a year before his death, declared that the world would one day come to believe that there was not one but many Goethes. And this protean nature was in exact correspondence with his physical organisation, regarding which, also, we have the most precise details. The massive head and bust presented in his later portraits suggest the frame of an athlete impervious to the influences that disturb the equilibrium of less robust constitutions. In point of fact, not Shelley himself was more sensitive to 'skiey influences' than Goethe. Though of a powerful frame, his organs were peculiarly subject to disorder; and both in youth and age he had frequent illnesses which nearly proved fatal. A clouded sky, a low barometer, paralysed his creative force; and

in his later years he had to await the inspiration of the returning sun. His effervescence of spirit during his two years' sojourn in Italy—the only really happy period of his manhood, as he so frequently declared—was due even more to its climate and skies than to its treasures of ancient art.

- ✓ In his human relations he was equally sensitive. A particular cast of expression, a particular shade of manner in those with whom he came in contact, formed a barrier to intercourse which he was unable to overcome. Unsympathetic criticism of himself or his work he felt as keenly as the most irritable of the irritable tribe; and the cold reception of the works he produced after his return from Italy threw him into permanent depression.
- By the minor troubles of life he was discomposed to a degree which can only surprise ordinary mortals; and in the case of its greater trials he gave way to emotions which for the time completely unmanned him. His friends dared not speak to him of the deaths of Schiller and of his own son; and during the last illness of his wife
- ✓ his conduct was that of one distracted. Such was the physical and mental temperament of the man whose external demeanour in his later years suggested the carriage of a god, to whom 'the sense of tears in mortal things' was but the stimulant to æsthetic and philosophic contemplation.

- Here it is that we touch the problem of Goethe's nature, the different answers to which explain the contradictory impressions that prevail regarding his character and his work. With such a temperament,
- how was he enabled to subdue himself to the steady and persistent purpose which seems as apparent in him in the most passionate period of his youth as in the calm of mature age? Once and again it appeared as if he were about to make shipwreck in the tumults of passion; yet he ever emerges victorious, apparently only invigorated by the struggles through which he has passed. Certain expressions which he was in the habit of using regarding himself have been accepted as the explanation of this duality of nature; and, construed as they have been, they have naturally led to conflicting conclusions regarding his personal character. The general drift of these expressions would seem to imply that, even in

seasons of, apparently, the most complete self-abandonment, he remained master of himself and was able whenever he pleased to make artistic capital out of his own emotions. Such seems to be the drift of the passage in 'Wahrheit und Dichtung,' so frequently quoted, in which he says that it was his habit to seek escape from all violent mental experiences by throwing them into some form of poetic production. To the same purport is the famous sentence in his letter to Lavater, written at a period when by his own confession he was least master of himself, in which he says that his one desire, which outweighs every other and is never a moment out of his mind, is to rear the pyramid of his existence as high as his nature will permit.

But do the facts of his personal experience and the circumstances of his creative activity indeed prove that he was at all times his own master, equally in his relations to his fellows and in his relation to his imaginative production? Was he able to say at any moment, 'I will pursue this path of conduct, or follow this artistic ideal, and none other,' and abandon it when it seemed good to him? As we should expect from his physical and mental organisation, precisely the contrary is the impression we receive, the more closely we study his personal conduct in the passionate experiences of his life and in the successive phases of his intellectual development. It is an illusion common to the greatest as well as to the most ordinary mortals that they are determining their own choice of alternatives when in reality they are only obeying an instinct which is the ruling impulse of their nature. Such an instinct we find in Goethe from earliest youth to latest age—the instinct to know, to understand, and to create. In the conflict of this instinct with his susceptibility and mobility of feeling—engaging him at every period of his life in some new emotional experience, impelling him to search after new aspects of truth or of beauty—we seem to have an explanation at once of the man and of the creative artist.

It is in his manifold love passages, as numerous in his maturity as in his youth, that we discover the essential traits of Goethe's temperament. His susceptibility in these experiences was equalled only by his apparent volatility. Did there come a moment in these episodes

when, as we are told, he deliberately exercised his volition, and in cool disregard of the objects of his passion, said to himself, 'thus far and no farther?' From all we know of him, and from any conclusions we are able to form regarding the working of the human heart, there was no self-determination in the matter. In each case passion ran its course; his 'chameleon' nature demanded new interests; and his intelligential instinct, as we may call it, was there as the central impulse of his nature to supply them. In the most enduring and most absorbing of all his passions, that for Frau von Stein, we can trace the gradual process of his emancipation. There was no deliberate attempt on his part to escape from it. As we read his letters to her during the period preceding his Italian journey we can trace the gradual breaking of the spell that bound him to her; and his sojourn in Italy completed his disenchantment. And it is to be noted that in all his love adventures there was no final rupture between him and the objects of his passion; no violent estrangement followed; and his discarded loves continued to regard him with cordiality and esteem. Frau von Stein, indeed, for a time keenly resented his changed relations to her; but in her case it was the presence of a rival, Christiane Vulpius, that whetted her feeling. Yet he appeared even to her as 'a beautiful star that had fallen from her heaven.' 'Alienated lovers,' is his own characteristic remark, 'become the best friends, if only they can be properly managed.'

If we attend to the development of his genius or the ordering of his life as a whole we see the same process at work as in the case of his affairs of the heart. One aspect of life or ideal creation after another impresses his mobile spirit; he is dominated by it for a time, and with all the resources of his intelligence he strives to give it expression in lyric or drama or thesis.

'Das ist die Kunst, das ist die Welt,
Das eins ums andere gefällt.'

From his own manner of speaking, especially in 'Wahrheit und Dichtung'—in large degree a theoretic construction of his own development—we might imagine that he deliberately looked around him for what would best profit his own culture, made his choice, and passed

on to new conquests when it seemed good to him. But in the rapid succession of his points of view in literature and art, we see rather the susceptibility of a nature as quick to receive impressions as to abandon them. During his youth, previous to his settling in Weimar at the age of twenty-five, he takes his colouring from the prevailing influences around him—at Frankfurt, at Leipzig, at Strassburg. Assuredly it was not from self-determination that he sat at the feet of Herder and imbibed his views regarding popular poetry and Shakespeare. His sojourn in Italy is usually supposed to have resulted in a complete transmutation at once of his personal character and of his artistic ideals; and this is regarded as the most remarkable illustration of his self-mastery, of his faculty of renewing and transforming himself by a simple effort of volition. He went to Italy with his passionate nature still unsubdued, and he returned the statuesque figure, the ‘Jupiter of Weimar,’ with whose image the world is familiar; he went, still under the dominion of the ‘northern phantoms,’ and he returned a pagan Greek, pagan in his ethical and æsthetic ideals. But such transformations do not take place in the nature of things; as Goethe himself says, a man cannot jump off his own shadow. ‘Au fond, quand je m’étudie, j’ai en effet très peu changé; le sort m’avait en quelque sorte rivé dès l’enfance à la fonction que je devais accomplir.’ So wrote Renan when in old age he surveyed his life as a whole; and between the Renan who wrote ‘L’Avenir de la Science’ and the Renan who wrote ‘L’Abbesse de Jouarre’ there is a wider gulf than between the Goethe of ‘Götz’ and the Goethe of the second part of ‘Faust.’

It is indeed one of the important results of the immense labours his countrymen have expended on Goethe that they go to prove that the Italian visit made no vital breach between his earlier and later life either in his character or in his genius. There was a change in his external demeanour and a change in many of his personal relations, but that change had already been observed before his departure for Italy, and was but another illustration of his susceptibility to immediate influences. He has himself told us that it was one of the painful conditions of his position in Weimar that it made

impossible that frank and cordial relation with others which it was his nature to seek and from which he had hitherto derived encouragement and stimulus; as a State official, he says, he could be on easy terms with nobody without running the risk of a petition for some favour he might or might not be in a position to confer. A change there undoubtedly was in his outward bearing; and the change was more marked than ever after his return from Italy. But in the essential traits of his character no change is perceptible which is not explicable by the years that 'bring the inevitable yoke.' In his unrestrained hours, in sympathetic circles, he was still the Goethe of the days of Leipzig and Frankfurt, responsive to every new impression, subject to the same bursts of passion, delighting and astonishing his friends by his sallies of high spirits and freaks of fancy, and (surest proof that there was no stiffening of his youthful nature) even in his most advanced age the friend and playful companion of children as he had always been.

If the Italian journey effected no essential change in his nature, neither did it effect a definitive change in his genius or in its characteristic expression. As in the past, so in the future, he was to show that he was as susceptible and responsive as ever to fresh suggestions in the exercise of his faculty. He returned from Italy dominated by the ideals of Greece in life and art; his ethical point of view became, for a time, aggressively pagan; and in a few set productions he sought to embody his conceptions of classical models. The 'Roman Elegies,' 'Iphigenia,' 'Tasso,' and 'Hermann und Dorothea' are his chief efforts to realise classical forms and the classical spirit under modern conditions. But these efforts only mark one of the successive phases in the development of his genius. It is his own admission that he came to see that the Greek ideal was not all in all; and the work of his later years is the conclusive proof of his changed opinion.

'Wir sind vielleicht zu antik gewesen,
Nun wollen wir es moderner lesen.'

This changed point of view was doubtless partly due to the cold reception of his work produced under the classical inspiration; for, whatever contempt Goethe

might profess for general opinion, he keenly felt the indifference of the German public; but it was still more due to new influences acting on his impressionable spirit. In spite of all the hard words he has said of romanticism, there were elements in that movement which were in reality more akin to his nature and poetic instincts than the classical ideals. It was by 'an unconquerable impulse,' he told Schiller, that he returned to the 'northern phantoms' of Faust, as he elsewhere calls them; and his later productions are the evidence of his new inspiration. In the 'Westöstlicher Divan,' the 'Wahlverwandtschaften,' 'Meisters Wanderjahre,' and the second part of 'Faust,' classical ideals are thrown to the winds, under the deliberate conviction, as he also expressed it to Schiller, that 'whatever genius brings forth as genius should be brought forth unconsciously.'

'Goethe is as one possessed, and almost never has any choice as to what he shall do.' Alike in the case of his affections and of the development of his genius this seems to be the true judgment on Goethe as he is mirrored in his words and deeds at every stage of his career. Far from being the self-conscious master of his actions and of his creative faculty, it was by 'unconquerable impulse' that he passed under each new passion, each new ideal of artistic production. But behind the impulse was his marvellous intelligence, equally spontaneous in its action, which searched every experience with a freedom of gaze hardly to be found in any other human spirit. It is, in truth, the distinctive characteristic of his mind which gives its supreme value to the counsels he has to offer, that he looks at all things as if he had been the first to see them. 'I will not rest,' he wrote from Italy in 1787, 'till nothing is any longer word and tradition, but living notion'; and a remarkable criticism once passed on his work as a whole seemed to himself to describe the essential working of his genius. 'Does not every page he wrote show that he felt a far deeper need to penetrate into the innermost being of men and things than to give his thoughts poetical expression?'

It is in this attitude of mind, this untrammelled gaze into every object that presented itself to his vision, that we find the explanation of the charge of 'paganism,' which has been brought against him since the scope of

his work was fully apprehended. A striking passage in the 'Melanges et Lettres' of Doudan well illustrates the identity of Goethe's outlook with that of the cultivated minds of classical antiquity :

'In my judgment' (says Doudan) 'we have not taken sufficient account of the ravages that have been effected in the modern mind by the habit of admiring the unknowable instead of simply resting in our ignorance. In the time of Cicero no supernatural belief dominated cultivated minds. When he followed his reveries on the terrace at Formia, with the sea outstretched before him, he gave full reign to all the best instincts of human reason. When he sought after the mystery of things, and asked what the waves murmured at his feet, what the stars of the Italian sky had to say to him, there came between him and nature none of those imposing but shapeless phantoms which transported St Anthony in the desert and St Ignatius in the world of busy life.'

Was the outcome of this attitude towards every question that concerns man's deepest interests essentially hostile to the Christian conception of his being and destiny? Many who consider themselves Christian will now give an answer to the question very different from that which they would have given a few years ago. To one of the two types of Christianity which now appeal to the world Goethe is indeed the irreconcilable foe. The medieval conception of the Christian revelation, with its mechanical deity and its ascetic ideal, seemed to him an outrage at once on nature and the human spirit. On the other hand, of a Christianity based on what he considered the true teaching of its Founder, on the graces and virtues that make for the adornment and elevation of life, on an understanding of the universe compatible with man's highest reason, he deemed himself the true friend and ally. To the permanent promise and potency of Christianity he was, in his last days, an ungrudging, even enthusiastic, witness; and we are told that of its Founder 'he would speak with such emotion that he could not control his tears.' When Ludwig of Bavaria asked him why he was called 'the last of the Pagans,' his answer was that, if Christ were to come alive, he would perhaps think him the only Christian. Nor was this said in mere paradox, as his abiding opinion of the Christian documents sufficiently vouches. In these documents it was

his lifelong conviction that men would continue to find the highest ideal that has been revealed to them, but only on the condition that they appropriate 'what is really there.' And he has told us what in his judgment is 'the sum of all wisdom,' as Christianity and human experience accord in proclaiming. It is in those genial relations in which thoughts are never at strife with things—relations which are finally summed up in the essentially Christian graces, faith, hope, charity.

'La religion,' it has been said, 'a perfectionné la civilisation, mais la civilisation le lui a bien rendu'; in other words, religion retains its hold on man only on the condition of growing with his ethical and intellectual growth. In Goethe we have the supreme manifestation of the modern spirit; and, if religion should finally reject him, it may even be at its own peril. Yet, whatever may be the world's final judgment on the ultimate bearing of his message, so various and comprehensive was his spirit that the believer of every creed may find his account in him. Out of his vast legacy, covering almost every field of human interest, each may construct his own breviary for his own stimulus and upbuilding, and on the tablets of all may be inscribed such a counsel as that which he sends to Schiller, who needed it less than most: 'Bleiben Sie fest im Bunde des Ernstes und der Liebe: alles übrige ist ein leeres und trauriges Wesen.' 'Abide fast in the bond of earnestness and love; all besides is emptiness and sorrow.'

P. HUME BROWN.

Art. X.—THE COLONIAL CONFERENCE.

1. *Correspondence relating to the Future Organisation of Colonial Conferences.* Cd. 2785 of 1905.
2. *Despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with enclosures respecting the Agenda of the Colonial Conference, 1907.* Cd. 3337 of 1907.
3. *Correspondence relating to the Colonial Conference, 1907.* Cd. 3340 of 1907.

THE great political event of the year 1907 is the meeting in London of the representatives of the self-governing States of the British Empire to consult on matters of joint concern. On this occasion the meeting is not, as before, incidental to a royal jubilee or coronation, but is primarily for the transaction of business. The chief of these States by far in wealth and population, and because it still holds under its sole supreme control a population of nearly 350 millions in the autocratically ruled part of the Empire, is the United Kingdom. Even apart from its vast dependencies, the United Kingdom still bears in the British Empire in regard to population the same kind of proportion to the next largest State, Canada, as in the German Empire Prussia bears to Bavaria. But in the German Empire the proportion can hardly be reversed as time goes on, while in the British it not only may, but in all probability will be. The potentialities of Canada are immense, and so, though probably in a less degree, are those of Australia and South Africa. New Zealand may quite possibly, in the course of centuries, equal the United Kingdom in population as it does in area.

These are the possibilities which make the right guidance of the relations of the free States of the British Empire a matter of supreme importance. The inhabitant of these islands is even still apt to regard the colonies as more or less flourishing outlying estates of his own. When disposed to speak poetically, he talks of the mother-country and her children—rather a hollow and deceptive metaphor. If an image drawn from family life be used at all, Canadians and Australians should be called cousins, not children. The facts that the Prime Minister of Canada is a man of French race, and that

the Prime Minister of the Transvaal is of Dutch race, show very strikingly that the sway of the Empire is now no more exclusively in English hands than the sway of the Roman Empire after Augustus was exclusively in Italian hands. It was the secret of empire, said Tacitus, *arcanum imperii*, that an emperor could be made elsewhere than at Rome. Our business now is to rid our imaginations of that outworn image of the mother-country and her colonies and to replace it by the idea of States closely allied, interdependent, meeting, like lines drawn from the circumference of a circle to a centre, in allegiance to one throne, and widely varying in greatness but equal in rights. The object of the present Imperial Conference is to find means for making the wills of the several Governments work more and more in unison.

Thus the importance of the questions to be discussed at this Conference is far greater than that of the purely provincial questions, such as an Education Bill, which cause so much excitement in England, and by which the choice of the men who not only govern this kingdom but control dependencies and armaments and foreign relations is, strangely enough, determined. What we are in fact watching is, as a writer of distinction has said, a stage in the majestic evolution of the British Empire.

If space permitted, it would be interesting to examine in detail what were the resolutions passed at the last meeting of the Conference of 1902, and what steps have subsequently been taken in pursuance of them. We can do no more than allude to the more important of these. In the way of joint defence we have the increased contributions of Australia, New Zealand, Cape Colony, and Natal, towards the navy, and the extension of the principle of reserving a certain number of commissions in the navy and army to colonial candidates. The late Government, in 1905, also carried through the arrangement placing Canadian militia officers on a footing of equality with those in the regular forces—a measure which, as the Dominion Government said, 'may prove to be but the first step towards the grant of Imperial commissions valid throughout all the forces of the Empire.' At the present Conference Australia desires to reconsider the agreement of 1902, involving a naval contribution in return for a local squadron, apparently with a view to converting the

form of Australian contribution into one more agreeable to opinions now held in Australia. New Zealand, on the other hand, appears to be willing to increase its contribution. The Commonwealth Government has raised the question of a permanent representation of the colonies on the Imperial Defence Committee, an institution which, founded originally for the purpose of co-ordinating the work of departments in Whitehall, offers one of the fairest avenues towards co-operation between the States of the Empire in matters of joint concern and supreme importance.

If defence is one main road, and perhaps the nearest, to closer relations, another is reasoned and conscious co-operation in the direction of trade by statesmanship into certain channels for high political reasons. One method is that indicated in several resolutions passed at the 1902 Conference, of subsidising merchant-shipping lines between different parts of the Empire, cheapening postal and cable communications, and so forth. Another method is that of tariff preferences. Present English opinion is much divided on this subject, but the Conference of 1902 unanimously recognised that

‘the principle of preferential trade between the United Kingdom and His Majesty’s dominions beyond the seas would stimulate and facilitate mutual commercial intercourse, and would, by promoting the development of the resources and industries of the several parts, strengthen the Empire.’

That Conference recognised that a system of inter-Imperial free-trade was not yet practicable; but that it was desirable that all the colonies should give ‘substantial preferential treatment to the products and manufactures of the United Kingdom.’ The colonial Prime Ministers at the same time urged on His Majesty’s Government ‘the expediency of granting in the United Kingdom preferential treatment to the products and manufactures of the colonies, either by exemption from or reduction of duties now or hereafter imposed.’

Mr Chamberlain, in his attempt to carry into effect this policy of the last Conference, has suffered defeat. But Canada has maintained her existing considerable preference in favour of British goods; South Africa and New Zealand have instituted a like preference; and

Australia has passed an Act—not yet in force, because certain treaties with foreign Powers bar the way—giving preference to certain classes of British goods if conveyed in British ships manned by white seamen. These last conditions, and also certain tendencies in Canada, indicate a return towards the principle of those old Navigation Acts which had so potent an influence in building up British maritime greatness. So also does the resolution passed in 1902 in favour of forbidding trade between the different coasts of the British Empire to the ships of nations, like the United States, which give a monopoly of their own coastal trade to their own ships, and of otherwise considering whether steps should be taken to promote Imperial trade in British vessels. Australia proposes at the present Conference the reaffirmation of this important resolution. But, if we return towards the principle of the Navigation Laws, it will be, as in other matters, on a different plane. The legislation will no longer emanate exclusively from Westminster, binding willing or unwilling colonies, but will be enacted, after agreement, by the several legislatures of the Empire.

The Australian Government at the present Conference will move that the tariff preference resolutions of 1902 should be reaffirmed, with the variation that 'it is desirable that the United Kingdom grant preferential treatment to the products and manufactures of the colonies.' This will raise the issue squarely. It is certain that all the partner States, with perhaps the small exception of Newfoundland, agree in this view, although they may not all deem it politic to vote for a resolution in these terms. It remains to be seen whether the Government of the United Kingdom will so far meet them as to agree to propose to Parliament a preference on products such as tea, wine, and tobacco—at present very severely taxed under our existing tariff—when such products reach our shores from any part of the Empire, self-governing or dependent. If our Government are not precluded from this step by their pledges or their fears, they can accept the New Zealand resolution, which does not go beyond this proposal, and take this road, for the present, out of the difficulty, leaving it to their successors to broaden, as no doubt they will, the basis of taxation, and at the same time to extend the preferential system—if this should be

found possible—to the products and manufactures of the British Empire.

Lord Elgin, in arranging the Agenda for 1907, has placed in the forefront those subjects which the Governments taking part in the Conference appear to be most anxious to discuss, leaving minor subjects to take their chance of obtaining a hearing, if time allows. These primary questions are the 'constitution of future conferences,' preferential trade, defence, naturalisation, and emigration. Of these the first was brought forward in Mr Lyttelton's despatch of 20th April, 1905; the last was proposed by the present Government, at the suggestion of Lord Tennyson's Committee on Emigration. Resolutions relating to all these subjects have also been proposed by several of the colonial Governments.

The first place has rightly been given by Lord Elgin to the question of the constitution of future Conferences, or, as it would be better expressed, to 'the constitution of the Conference'; and in this question is included that of the name by which the Conference is hereafter to be known—a matter of some importance in view of the influence which words and symbols have upon things.

The published correspondence discloses two questions which will no doubt be discussed on the opening day. One of these is the claim made by the State Governments of Australia to be admitted to the Conference *pari passu* with the Federal or Commonwealth Government, a claim rejected by Lord Elgin, subject to any decision by the Conference itself. There can be no doubt that the Conference will ratify the view taken by Lord Elgin; one can hardly imagine a step more retrograde than the admission of these States. Like the American States long after the Union, these Governments are unable to realise that they have ceased to be independent units, and have become States. They are self-governing indeed in purely internal matters, so far as such matters have not been transferred to the Federal authorities; but in all matters of external relations, including relations to other units of the Empire, they have surrendered independent existence. As Mr Deakin said in his annihilating despatch of 22nd December, 1906, 'the right of representing the people of Australia in their relations with individuals or communities beyond our shores,' or, in other words, 'the

right to act on behalf of Australia as a whole in all matters that relate to the interests of Australians as a united community,' is now exclusively vested in the Commonwealth Government. There can be no doubt about that; and the inevitable decision should be a valuable means of hammering this hard truth into the minds of aggrieved provincial statesmen. If we look at wealth and population alone, there is, no doubt, incongruity in the representation of Canada and Australia by one Prime Minister each, and of South Africa by three; but it may be hoped that, before the Conference meets again, the federation of South Africa will have been accomplished, and it is even possible that Newfoundland will have become one of the provinces of Canada.

The other question relating to the constitution of the present Conference was raised by the Canadian Government. The Conferences of 1897 and 1902 were composed of Prime Ministers, except that the Secretary of State for the Colonies represented the United Kingdom. Other Ministers, belonging to the Imperial and colonial Cabinets, took part in the discussion when their special departments were concerned, but were not reckoned as full members of the Conference present at every meeting. The terms of the resolution passed at the Conference of 1902 confirmed this practice. It was agreed that

'it would be to the advantage of the Empire if Conferences were held, as far as practicable, at intervals not exceeding four years, at which questions of common interest affecting the relations of the mother-country and His Majesty's dominions over the seas could be discussed and considered as between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Prime Ministers of the self-governing Colonies.'

The Canadian Government, in a despatch dated 25th October, 1906, made the proposal that

'the Conference may be treated as one of Colonial Ministers, the Government of each Colony being free to send such of their members as they may be pleased to select to represent the Colony at the Conference, and such representatives to be deemed members of the Conference in the fullest sense, with the understanding, however, that, in any matters which may be determined by vote, each Colony shall have one vote only.'

The reasons given by the Canadian Government in support of this proposal are of a practical, not a theoretical nature. One is that, if responsible Ministers are called away so far from home, they should in courtesy be allowed full participation in the consultations. Another reason is that, if their colleagues, or their more important colleagues, are not present, the Prime Ministers will be unwilling to assume the responsibility of dealing with a certain class of questions.

These reasons are not very convincing, because, as Lord Elgin pointed out in his reply, colonial Ministers are at present on the same footing as English Cabinet Ministers and can always attend the Conference when their own departments are concerned. There is, however, no fundamental reason, as in the case of the admission of the Australian States, for objecting to this proposal. There is something, on the contrary, to be said for having a larger body present at every sitting. It is true that a Canadian Postmaster-general might listen with apathy or non-intelligence to a discussion about a torpedo flotilla for Australia, but the same might be said of any Minister at a Cabinet Council while discussions alien to his department were in progress. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in proposing this change, may indeed have had in mind the definition of Colonial Conferences contained in the despatch of his Government of 17th November, 1905, as 'more or less unconventional gatherings for informal discussions of public questions'—a definition intended to counter Mr Lyttelton's assertion that the Conferences had practically grown into that 'Imperial Council' so much distrusted by the Canadian Premier. Be that as it may, Lord Elgin took the correct course in pointing out the difficulties in altering the constitution of the Conference before it met, and in leaving this question to be discussed, together with others under the same head, at the Conference itself.

This question, and not, as Mr Chamberlain desired, the trade-relations question, will evidently be the leading theme of the present assembly of chiefs of the Empire. The question was considered at some length in an article on 'Imperial Unity' in the January number of this Review. It was launched for discussion by Mr Lyttelton in his circular despatch of 20th April, 1905. Mr Lyttelton proposed two steps—one that the 'Colonial Conference'

should receive the name of 'Imperial Council,' the other that there should be established a permanent joint Commission, composed in certain proportions of representatives of the United Kingdom and of each colony, assisted by a special secretariat, to prepare subjects of common concern for the Conference, or for the Governments taking part in it, in the intervals between its sittings. This organisation would, he justly argued, give greater continuity to the work of the Conference.

The subsequent correspondence shows diverging opinions. The Canadian Government vigorously rejected the title of 'Council,' though they accepted the epithet 'Imperial.' With some reserve and hesitation they expressed themselves as willing to consider the question of the permanent Commission. The Australian Government, on the other hand, bring forward the following resolution:—

'That it is desirable to establish an Imperial Council, to consist of representatives of Great Britain and the self-governing Colonies, chosen *ex officio* from their existing administrations.

'That the objects of such Council shall be to discuss at regular Conferences matters of common Imperial interest, and to establish a system by which members of the Council shall be kept informed during the periods between the Conferences in regard to matters which have been or may be subjects for discussion.

'That there shall be a permanent secretarial staff charged with the duty of obtaining information for the use of the Council, of attending to the execution of its resolutions, and of conducting correspondence on matters relating to its affairs.

'That the expenses of such a staff shall be borne by the countries represented on the Council in proportion to their populations.'

The resolutions to be proposed by the New Zealand and Cape Colony Governments show that they take the side of Australia and not that of Canada on this issue.

Mr Lyttelton expressed the willingness of the home Government to defray the expense of the secretarial staff and office. The Australian Government, however, propose that 'the expenses of such a staff shall be borne by the countries represented on the Council in proportion

to their populations.' A great deal turns upon this question of a few salaries and office expenses. It may be the key of the whole position. The Australian proposal is logical. If there is the beginning of a true Imperial Council of States varying in population, wealth, and strength, but equal *de jure*, there should also be the beginning of a true Imperial Civil Service. If, on the other hand, the Conferences are to be, in the words of the Canadian Government, occasional and informal gatherings for the discussion of business, there is no reason why the 'mother-country,' acting as hostess at these social parties, should not detach for the purpose, as she now does, two or three of her competent servants at the Colonial Office. No doubt it would in practice be difficult to have a staff paid by several States, and responsible to a body of Premiers living in different quarters of the planet. The idea might make long-dead Treasury officials stir uneasily in their graves.

A possible solution is suggested in the latest manifesto of Sir Frederick Pollock and his friends, when they hint that the organisation might be under 'the interim direction of His Majesty's Government in consultation with the States of the Empire.' No doubt the Colonial Office would be willing enough, and even pleased, to evolve a new cell within its own organism for this 'interim' purpose, trusting that the 'interim' would prove an eternity, and would gladly specialise one or two of its officials in the service of the Conference. This would be an improvement upon the present system of beginning to prepare subjects a few months before a conference begins and abandoning them with relief when it is over. If we are to proceed by short steps at a time—as the canny statesmen from the northern hemisphere seem to desire—this would be the smallest possible step to take, and would be almost humiliatingly free from risk. A bolder policy would be to make the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom the president of the Imperial Conference. The secretariat would then be placed immediately under his direction, as president, and would be independent of, though closely connected with, the Colonial Office, just as the Imperial Defence Committee staff is in the department of the Prime Minister and is not a branch of the War Office or Admiralty. The bolder policy is the crea-

tion of a department for civil affairs in the direct service of the Conference; the cautious policy is a slight development inside the Colonial Office. The cautious policy meets the exact needs of the precise moment; the larger policy is in accordance with the true idea of the Empire. Probably the conjunction of the circumspect Scottish mind dominant in our present Government with the wary French mind now ruling in Canada will make the slower policy prevail in this Conference. The more daring English spirit takes larger risks for greater gains. But fuller development may well wait for a few years, when the federation of South Africa will have been completed.

Mr Lyttelton's scheme has this defect that, although it meets one side of the requirements of the situation, it does not directly meet the other. It provides for the establishment of a special secretariat and of a permanent joint Commission for the steady and continuous investigation of questions of common concern and systematic preparation of work for the quadrennial meetings of the Imperial Conference or Council. So far it is excellent. But Mr Lyttelton's scheme does not meet the complaint of the colonies that their views and interests are not kept sufficiently in sight in the transaction of current affairs of the international kind. This discontent has lately made itself heard in connexion with the Alaska Treaty, the *modus vivendi* with the United States about the Newfoundland fisheries, and the Anglo-French Convention as to the New Hebrides. In affairs of this kind arrangements have to be made with great secrecy and often with much rapidity. This is the difficulty. It is not easy to act in full and swift co-operation with Governments at the other side of the world. If in all these transactions the Foreign Office and Colonial Office had to consult all the Governments of the free colonies, and not only those immediately concerned, the difficulty would be overwhelming. The treaty of alliance with Japan was a most important departure and one which might, in certain events, involve the whole Empire in a big war. Yet it would have been very difficult, without long delays and considerable chance of premature disclosures, to impart to the allied States all the delicate negotiations which led up to this conclusion and secure their adherence.

In the German Empire the federated Governments are represented by their nominated delegates in the Bundesrath. Common knowledge and action in foreign affairs are secured by a joint committee constituted for that purpose. Other committees serve the same ends in military, naval, and trade affairs. The Bavarian or Saxon delegates communicate with their State Governments and receive instructions from them. But here in London the Imperial Government, although it transacts business in which the whole Empire is concerned, is advised or checked by no such council. It is in some respects more easy to keep in touch with foreign Powers than with our own colonial Governments, because each Power has a representative belonging to the diplomatic profession, trained, skilled, an expert in the art of dealing with statesmen, having secrecy and discretion for a second nature, accredited and empowered to handle the most delicate and important affairs. But if the Foreign Office wish to consult a colonial government they have to write to the Colonial Office, who write to the Governor, who consults his Ministers, and the answer must return by the same circuitous road.

It has been suggested that the agents of the colonies in London, whose business is now mostly commercial and financial, should be raised to a position resembling that of diplomatic Ministers. It has also been sometimes suggested that they should be *ex-officio* Privy Councillors, and should be invited to take part in meetings of the Cabinet when Imperial affairs are under discussion. It is very much a question of *personnel*. If the colonies can and will send to London men of the first class to represent them, as the European Powers do, the Imperial Government would not, we think, hesitate to consult them in one mode or another in all matters of importance, and would be greatly influenced by the views and advice which they could communicate on behalf of their Governments. This can more easily be done now that Australia has been federated. Another step will be taken when the federation of South Africa has been achieved.

Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, might each be represented in London by one or more Commissioners authorised to act in all respects, subject to the instructions of their Governments, in the interest

of their respective States. These Commissioners would be in constant touch with the Ministers of the Imperial Government and with each other. When the subjects under discussion made it worth while for them to attend, they could form part of the Imperial Defence Committee, thus meeting the view expressed in one of the Australian resolutions 'that the Colonies should be represented on the Imperial Council of Defence.' The High Commissioners could discuss other matters of Imperial concern on other Committees together with Ministers and officials of this country. They would be at hand to guard the interests and express the views of the colonial Governments when arrangements were being made with foreign Powers. Possibly they might also sit *ex-officio* in the House of Lords, an assembly which, with reforms, offers a splendid foundation for a truly Imperial Senate, precisely because it is non-elected, and can therefore be made non-provincial.

There is no reason why a step in advance of this kind should not now be made. It will be a move along the road which leads to that end—not so distant perhaps as Mr Balfour thinks—the evolution, not, or not for a long time yet, of a sovereign Legislature, but of a true Council of the Empire. Let this be noted. If our Prime Minister, as President of the Conference, represented the United Kingdom, if Lord Elgin represented the Crown Colonies and other dependencies, and if Mr Morley represented India, then the present Conference would be, for the time being, a real Council of the whole Empire, by whatever name it might be called.

Art. XI.—JOHN EVELYN.

1. *The Diary of John Evelyn*. With an introduction and notes, by Austin Dobson. Three vols. London: Macmillan, 1906.
2. *The Diary of John Evelyn; with a selection from his familiar Letters, etc.* Edited from the original MSS. by William Bray, F.S.A. A new edition in four volumes, with a life of the author and a new preface. By Henry B. Wheatley. London: Bickers, 1906.

THE advantage of writing Memoirs is that nobody can supersede you. A man who has learnt to write and is wise enough to write about his own time has the promise of immortality in his pocket. The editors of Herodotus and Froissart and Saint-Simon come and go; and the heirs of their learning sit in their seats, take over the inheritance, and perform the first duty of heirs by burying their fathers. The new owners soon add to the estate and honours of their line; and before very long the first of the editorial ancestry is become nothing more than a name mentioned in a preface. It is a law from which greater men than editors, the very historians themselves, are not exempt. Unless he be Livy or Gibbon, the historian who writes of any age except his own has but a brief and transient tenure of fame or life. But there is no death for Thucydides or Clarendon; and there is none for Saint-Simon or for Evelyn. They are for ever the men who saw with their own eyes the things and people they describe, and, though they may have to call in industry to edit them and learning to correct them, they can safely defy genius itself to take their place.

Still, of course, though they may all alike be indestructible, they are not all of the same metal. There is the lead of Sully, with its occasional vein of gold; there is the iron of Saint-Simon, apt for the furnace; and there is the cool and gracious silver of Evelyn. The contrast, at any rate, between the Englishman, who writes so much of Whitehall, and his younger French contemporary, who writes almost always of Versailles, is striking enough. Evelyn's little finger knew more of books and science and the arts than the whole body and mind of Saint-Simon.

But Saint-Simon is a far more powerful writer, as he is also a more masterful and passionate personality. Evelyn is a virtuous lover of all good men, and a virtuous disapprover of all bad men. Saint-Simon loves and hates with equal fierceness, and by no means only on grounds of reason. An honest and virtuous man himself, he is naturally, as a rule, on the side of the angels—on that of the Duc de Bourgogne, for instance. But then there is also the Regent to be remembered, who was not exactly one of the angels. And, on the other side of the account, there are the people he did not like and could not be just to, such as Madame de Maintenon and the Duc de Maine. That is to say, that his likes and dislikes were very largely an affair of temperament, and even of prejudice, as they are with most people of strong character.

His Memoirs suffered less from this than might have been expected; for there was something stronger in him than his prejudices, and that was the thing which provided the whole business and pleasure of his life, the desire by one means or another to know everything that was being said or done in that Court which was his world, and to record it instantly, effectively, and accurately. The impression is immediate; the pen that writes is hot with the eager quest of truth, and hot with the stir and pleasure of its discovery almost as much as with the fire of indignation or the zeal of partisanship. The truth he gives us is not always what the studies and reflections of another century will declare it to have been; but it is that unique kind of truth, the impression of the moment, which no subsequent wisdom of the ages can either recapture or supersede. And in Saint-Simon it has a vividness, a flutter of actuality, which is unsurpassed in all literature.

Of this particular and most delightful quality few writers of Memoirs have so little as Evelyn. The note of the man is sweet reasonableness; and that makes always for coolness of temper, and not unfrequently for greyness of colour. Even where his Diary has not been retouched by its author's ripe wisdom or the experience of later years, as we know much of it was, the man is so naturally wise and good that he is as sensible in the thick of a revolution as the sagest posterity can be in its easy chair after the lapse of two hundred years. He is a saint,

but he does not really hate sinners; a sage who only weeps over the foolishness of fools. A far more cultivated and a far more public-spirited man than Saint-Simon, he is thinking too much of greater matters to be able to throw himself with Saint-Simon's ardour into the eternal intrigue of personalities that makes up the life of a Court. Indeed, he is altogether more interested in things, and less in persons, than Saint-Simon. All the petty side of personality which makes the fascination of Saint-Simon and Pepys, as it does of Miss Austen, he, as a rule, simply passes by. He is neither so absorbed in himself as Pepys, nor so absorbed in a few people about him as Saint-Simon. Pepys' childishness, his absurd egotism, his unique genius for the confessional, his frank admissions that the things disdained by saints and philosophers are for him things of daily pleasure, interest, and importance—these are all as unknown to Evelyn as the Frenchman's heat and violence or his unique air of taking us into the very heart of the furnace that keeps the world in motion. Evelyn is, in fact, a wiser and better man, and a poorer writer, than either.

What, then, is it that keeps his book and name alive? Well, of course, he has one great merit which belongs of right and of necessity to all keepers of voluminous diaries. No man can keep a diary for long who does not find life interesting. The pessimistic diarists are only so in appearance; when you come close to them you find that they enjoy their pessimism more than the average man enjoys life. And in any case they are the exception. Most of these recorders of every day take the intensest pleasure either in themselves and their doings, or in the spectacle of the world, or in both at once. The daily pages could not be kept up without the stimulus of the daily pleasure. To the diarist, things, that is, *his* things, whatever they are, are so intensely interesting that the thought of their perishing unrecorded is intolerable. And so Pepys must tell us his exact feelings when people would not admire his new clothes; and Saint-Simon must give us every twitch of the Duc du Maine's features in the day of his downfall; and Boswell finds Johnson's retorts far too delightful a dish to set before oblivion even when he is himself their victim. With men of his sort nothing can stand against

the pleasure of telling the tale, neither vanity, nor prudence, nor even decency.

Evelyn's way is a different way from those others, but it is still, like them, the way of pleasure. He is decently pleased with himself throughout, and he is throughout delighted with the arts and sciences of wise men and with the works of God. Neither bad times nor bad men can long silence his praises of fine buildings and beautiful gardens and new discoveries. Except the two greatest of all, he knew all the interesting Englishmen of his day; and not the Queen of Sheba herself took greater pleasure in listening to wisdom. No sort comes amiss to him. He is always ready for divinity and a great hearer of the best sermons; but he is equally ready to discuss shipping with Pepys or architecture with Wren or antiquities with Arundel or science with Boyle. England has seldom, perhaps never, produced a better type of the man of cultivation, intelligence, and public spirit. There is his world. The weaker side of human nature may sometimes regret that he will not tell us a little more of the actual life of Whitehall, the gossip of the Court, and the daily sayings and doings of that attractive, disappointing, too sadly human monarch, King Charles II. But that is not his affair. Except for one terrible picture, that famous one of the Sunday before Charles' death, he gives few of the details which are so overflowingly abundant in Saint-Simon that we feel as if we had lived at Versailles. As for the most remembered personal element in the Court, he says little about it. As a patriot he is disgusted at the cabal of 'parasites, pimps, and concubines' who supplanted Clarendon; as a Christian he laments the King's vices; as a gentleman he stands amazed at their unashamed publicity; but as a loyal subject he says as little as he can about them. The notion that courtesans are the most interesting of human beings had not been invented in his day, and, if it had, it would not have been entertained at Sayes Court or Wotton. With such creatures and their world he has as little to do as he may. His curiosity, insatiable as it is, is of the old sort, not the new; the things which it is so unwearied in searching out are the things which adorn human nature and not—well, not the other things. He is an amateur, again in the old sense, of the best things

everywhere, and of all things at their best; and for him vice would simply be either a coming short of the proper stature of humanity, or a corruption of it and a disease; in either case a thing to be done with as quickly as possible.

There are, in fact, two casts of mind and two classes of writers which stand out in more or less marked contrast to each other at all times, and there is no doubt to which Evelyn belongs. However we name them, '*ceux qui agitent le monde, et ceux qui le civilisent*,' classical and romantic, the men of clearness and calm and the men of magic and enthusiasm, the walkers in the broad streets of life where the fine palaces and fair prospects are, and the walkers in the by-streets where squalor and eccentricity hug their independence, it is plain enough in which party Evelyn is to be looked for, if so humble a person as a diarist may find a place in either. The one sort finds everything interesting, even the ugly, and sometimes especially the ugly; the other averts its eyes, as far as it may, from disease and disorder, and ugliness and irrationality. That is what Goethe meant when, with some injustice to himself as well as to other people, he declared that the classical was the healthy and the romantic the diseased. Anyhow, without any calling of names, the distinction is plain, and so is Evelyn's character and plan. While his friend Pepys is as fond of his own feelings as a modern romantic, and as full of the curiosity of ugliness as a modern realist, Evelyn is as choice in his tastes and as dignified in his confessions as the most irreproachable of the French classics.

This, then, is the man whom we now have introduced to us afresh by Mr Wheatley and Mr Austin Dobson. Mr Wheatley's edition is a reprint of that already issued under his editorship in 1879, the text of which was itself a reprint of that of 1827. The present publication also contains Mr Wheatley's life of Evelyn, written for the 1879 edition, the bibliography compiled for that work, and 'an entirely fresh series of engravings.' These, however, are much less numerous, and less well printed than those in the other new edition, for which Mr Austin Dobson is responsible. This latter must be regarded as the best existing edition of the Diary until some future

editor has access to the original MS. at Wotton. That the owner at present refuses; and without it no edition can be either final or complete. Meanwhile, till the portions of the journal omitted by the original editors are given to the public, the best attainable text is not that of 1827, followed by Mr Wheatley, but that issued in 1850-1852 by John Forster, added to Bohn's Library in 1857, and now reprinted by Mr Dobson. This text contained a good many passages omitted by Bray, the first editor. It was founded on the labours of William Upcott, who had been the original cause of the Diary being published, and had assisted Bray in preparing the first edition in 1818, reprinted in 1827. But from some accident these editions did not include a number of passages Upcott had intended to be printed; and that of 1827 even omitted a few passages which occur in the editions of 1818 and 1819. The edition of 1850 is, in substance, Upcott's revision of the original text, with the addition of those portions of his intended text which had been omitted by Bray. These omitted passages are not of very great importance, so far as we have observed; one instance may suffice to illustrate their character. The full entry for the 12th of May, 1641, is as follows:—

'On the 12th of May, I beheld on Tower Hill the fatal stroke which severed the wisest head in England from the shoulders of the Earl of Strafford, whose crime coming under the cognisance of no human law or statute, a new one was made, not to be a precedent, but his destruction—(with what reluctance the King signed the execution, he has sufficiently expressed; to which he imputes his own unjust suffering)—to such exorbitancy were things arrived.'

The words in brackets do not appear in the earlier editions, and consequently not in that of Mr Wheatley. So for the year 1638, while Mr Dobson gives us a whole page of entries, Mr Wheatley gives only three lines; and in the next year the account Evelyn gives of his confirmation by the Bishop of Oxford will not be found in Mr Wheatley's edition. There is therefore no question as to which book is the more complete.

Mr Dobson also gives us an agreeable introduction, though, as he evidently fears, his readers may miss something of that unique and perfect intimacy with his

subject which he has accustomed them to expect from him. But, of course, Evelyn was born a hundred years too early to belong to the world Mr Dobson has made so peculiarly his own. Still he has a mass of most useful information to give us in his new notes; and it is strange that one of the very few actual errors we have found in them refers to an event that took place in the period about which he is generally omniscient. In September 1644 Evelyn left Moulins on the Allier and 'took horse for Varennes, an obscure village.' On which Mr Dobson gives a note which does less credit than usual to his editorial watchfulness. 'The obscure village to which Evelyn refers was destined to have a more memorable association in later years with the French Royal Family.' Neither the historical nor the geographical sense can have been quite awake when this was written or repeated. The fatal flight was of course to the frontier nearest to Paris; and the Varennes of Louis XVI and Drouet is within a few miles of Belgium, and by no means, like Evelyn's Varennes, in the very middle of France. But this is, of course, a detail and a trifle. The new notes, as a whole, will win the gratitude of every reader by their number, their accuracy, their brevity, and their point. Mr Dobson also reprints some of the notes of previous editors, and altogether gives the reader a great deal more assistance than Mr Wheatley; his notes, for instance, for the year 1683 amount to over a hundred, while there are only about twenty in Mr Wheatley's edition. So far, in fact, as the Diary is concerned, there is no doubt that Mr Dobson's book is to be preferred; but it is necessary to add that his work is confined to the Diary, while Mr Wheatley's four volumes include also Evelyn's correspondence and, somewhat incongruously, the correspondence between Charles I and Sir Edward Nicholas, and that between Clarendon and Sir Richard Browne. Evelyn's letters are rather a disappointment. They have little of the ease and familiarity of letters; many of them are given over to compliments and formalities; and some, like the immense letter to Pepys, are rather treatises than letters. On the whole, whether for the knowledge of the man himself, or of the age and world he lived in, the Diary is of far greater interest and importance than the letters.

I A diarist has two chances, himself and his times. There is nothing like a living human being, and the man who is really alive and can make us see that he is, is no doubt in the surest of all roads to the heart of posterity. Evelyn is by no means ignorant of this road, but, to make assurance doubly sure, he has taken care to have a very intimate acquaintance with the other also. Few diarists have lived in more exciting times and fewer still have known so many of the chief actors in them. He was born in 1620 and died in 1706. He had lived, that is, as his tombstone says, through 'an age of extraordinary events and revolutions.' And he had had the chance of observing them all at very close quarters, and even, it may be said, of playing a minor part among the actors of each. In the Civil War, indeed, like the man of peace he was, he took no part beyond once setting out to join the royal forces at the battle of Brentford, and arriving too late. He was no coward; indeed he had a courage much rarer than that of the battlefield, as later years were to show; but, for whatever reason, he decided that England in a state of civil war was no place for him, and, leaving himself to be represented in the King's army by his 'black *manège* horse and furniture,' he went abroad and was on the Continent from October 1643 till October 1647. The last year had been spent at Paris, and there he had married, in June 1647, Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Browne, who represented Charles I at the French Court. He reached London on October 13, 1647; and the rest of his long life was spent almost entirely in England and very largely occupied in the public service and in the promotion of art, science, and learning. Whatever judgment may be passed on the contrast between him and Milton in the matter of the Civil War, Evelyn was never a mere self-indulgent man of culture, never an isolated recluse, never an uninterested spectator of public affairs. The long years of his grand tour were no doubt, in his eyes, designed to enable him the better to 'serve God in Church and State,' according to his abilities, for the rest of his life. And in fact they did so, as Milton's elaborate education and foreign residence prepared him for his way of service. Evelyn, at any rate, began at once to play such a part as was allowed him directly he returned.

Within a few days of his landing he was with Charles I at Hampton Court, 'where I had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand and give him an account of several things I had in charge, he being now in the power of those execrable villains who not long after murdered him.' In the condition in which things then were, there was little scope for public action on the part of a moderate royalist like Evelyn. But what he could do he did. A few days before the execution of the King he published a book called 'Liberty and Servitude,' containing sentiments by no means palatable to the then ruling powers, so that, as he says, he 'was like to be called in question by the rebels' for it. He kept up a political correspondence with Sir Richard Browne, 'with no small danger of being discovered,' and used his friendship with the Dutch ambassador to get information to be sent abroad to Charles II. He avoided taking oaths to the new Government, and, particularly in Church matters, lived in open opposition to the new system. His strong churchmanship was entirely unconcealed and fearless, so that he and his wife were of a company of communicants invaded, on Christmas-day 1657, by a body of soldiers who levelled muskets at them as they went up to receive the sacrament, and arrested them afterwards for disobeying the 'Ordinance that none should any longer observe the superstitious time of the Nativity.' He was, however, released the next day, and, throughout the reign of Cromwell, he evidently had friends who had influence enough to protect him. Still such contact with public affairs as he had at this time was rather through Charles II and Clarendon, of whom he saw a great deal during a year's visit to Paris in 1651, than through anything he was able to do at home. But as the Restoration approached he came nearer the centre of things. In November 1659 he again showed his courage by publishing an 'Apology for the Royal Party' at a time when it was a capital offence to speak or write in favour of the King. Two months later we find him trying to persuade his friend Colonel Morley, one of the Council of State, who had more than once been of service to him, to do at once what Monk was to do a month later; and, again, replying to a pamphlet defaming the character of Charles II. So things speed on to the Restoration,

and poor Colonel Morley comes to Evelyn to protect him, which he manages to do, moralising when it is done: 'O, the sottish omission of this gentleman! What did I not undergo of danger in this negotiation to have brought him over to his Majesty's interest, when it was entirely in his hands!'

From the return of Charles II till the Revolution, and even to some extent to the end of his life, Evelyn, though never in prominent office, was in close touch with the Court and the King's Ministers, as well as with the principal ecclesiastics, scholars, artists, and men of science of the day. This is, as we said, one side of the interest of the Diary. The book is full of interesting people. Among the great personages of Evelyn's acquaintance, to name only those whom he saw often, are the King and Clarendon, Arlington and Clifford; Lauderdale, Shaftesbury, Sunderland, Ossory, Godolphin, Berkeley, the second Lord Clarendon, Lord Arundel, the great art collector, and his grandson the sixth Duke of Norfolk, the first Duke of Devonshire, the first Duke of Leeds, and another first duke, a much greater man, the first Duke of Marlborough. Among bishops and divines, whom he greatly frequented, those whom he knew outside the pulpit include Jeremy Taylor, Sheldon, Sancroft, Tenison, Tillotson, Earle and Burnet. Among men of letters we find him intimate with Waller and Cowley, and acquainted with Dryden, Hobbes, Locke, and Bentley, as well as with men of less note, like Milton's nephew Phillips and his friend Samuel Hartlib. Of Milton himself he apparently knew nothing; nor would it ever have occurred to him that anything fit for the perusal of a gentleman could possibly come from the man who in his eyes was simply 'that Milton who wrote for the Regicides.' With his brother diarist, Pepys, not then recognised even by himself as a man of letters, Evelyn was on intimate terms. And as to the men of art and science, he may be said to have known them all. 'That miracle of a youth, Mr Christopher Wren, nephew to the Bishop of Ely,' whom he first visited at Oxford in 1654, was to be his friend for life. He took great pains to start Grinling Gibbons on his career, introducing him to the King and to 'His Majesty's Surveyor, Mr Wren,' and did something of the same office

for Vanbrugh later. He had Verrio to dine with him, and gave him 'China oranges' off his own trees. And the list of musicians in whom he took delight would be a striking one even in that age, when all Englishmen loved and practised music. Of science it is enough to say that he was one of the chief promoters and original members of the Royal Society, and that among his most intimate friends was Robert Boyle.

The diary of such a man as this could hardly be dull, even if he were dull himself. And, in fact, the book is full of curious and interesting things, altogether over and above that continuous self-revelation which is the proper excellence of a diary. We pass with Evelyn through so many interesting doors never open to the vulgar, and now closed for ever. We put ourselves in his hands, and he sets us in a moment by the side now of a king or a queen, now of some statesman or philosopher or beauty of two hundred years ago. We have all heard from our childhood of Charles II and James II, of Charles' unfortunate wife and mother and his too fortunate mistresses; of the Cabal and the Seven Bishops; of Titus Oates and Judge Jeffreys. Here is a man in whose company we may meet them all. One day we can sit with him and hear Henrietta Maria relate 'divers passages of her escapes during the Rebellion; on another we may walk in St James' Park with Charles II and 'both hear and see a very familiar discourse between him and Mrs Nelly, as they called an impudent comedian, she looking out of her garden on a terrace at the top of the wall, and he standing on the green walk under it'; and though the lady has somehow or other managed to win the pardon, and even something like the affection, of posterity, we shall be forced to agree with our guide in being 'heartily sorry at this scene,' more especially as the very next scene is, alas! 'Thence the King walked to the Duchess of Cleveland, another lady of pleasure and curse of our nation.' But we may also see the same King playing a less ignoble part; talking astronomy with Evelyn at Whitehall, or discussing the habits of bees, or showing his plans for rebuilding Whitehall, and asking Evelyn's advice upon them, till the diarist is lost in admiration of his transcendent abilities, as we all incline to be of people who pay respect to our own. But of course Evelyn had good

grounds for thinking Charles no fool. He was himself a frequent witness of the King's versatility, and no doubt wherever they met, whether at Whitehall, or at the Royal Society, or at Sayes Court, he had the pleasant consciousness of talking to a man who understood what was said.

But Charles II is not the only king in Evelyn's gallery. There is Charles I at Hampton Court; there is Louis XIV dancing 'five entries' in a masque, a sight which Evelyn soon deserted for 'discourse with one of the Queen Regent's secretaries'; there is William of Orange as he first arrives in England to marry his cousin and pleases the diarist by his 'manly, courageous, wise countenance'; and the same person arriving once more on a still more important occasion, 'wonderfully serious and silent,' seeming to 'treat all persons alike gravely and to be very intent on affairs.' There is his queen giving scandal to all persons of good feeling by coming in to Whitehall 'laughing and jolly as to a wedding,' though she will afterwards so win Evelyn's admiration that he will talk of her at her death as one that 'does, if possible, outdo the renowned Queen Elizabeth,' perhaps the only instance in all the Diary of his losing his head enough to talk nonsense. But he never knew the Court after the Revolution as he had known it before. There are no such historically enviable moments again in his experience as that when James II, having repented of his first flight and slipped back from Rochester to Whitehall, 'goes to Mass and dines in public, a Jesuit saying grace (I was present)'; or that which immediately follows: 'I saw the King take barge to Gravesend at twelve o'clock—a sad sight! The Prince comes to St James's.' But even these entries yield in poignancy of human interest to that other of the death of Charles II:

'I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening), which this day se'nnight I was witness of, the King sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarin, etc., a French boy singing love-songs, in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset round a large table, a bank of at least 2000*l*, in gold before them, upon which two gentlemen who

were with me made reflections with astonishment. Six days after was all in the dust.'

But Evelyn's pictures of the life of his day have other figures than kings and queens in them. Many of us would have liked to be with him when he 'waited on Prince Rupert to our Assembly, where were tried several experiments in Mr Boyle's *vacuum*. A man thrusting in his arm after exhaustion of the air, had his flesh immediately swelled so as the blood was near bursting the veins: he drawing it out, we found it all speckled.' And who would not have enjoyed visiting Norwich as he did, as the guest of Lord Henry Howard at that ducal palace which Fuller called 'the greatest house he ever saw in a city out of London,' and seeing the sights of the city, as he did, under the guidance of Sir Thomas Browne?

We should not have cared enough for Lord Henry Howard to vex ourselves, like Evelyn, at his ill-doings; and, but for that, the drive from Euston, 'my lord and I alone in his flying chariot with six horses,' ought to have been pleasant enough on an October morning. Nor would our architectural conscience have boggled at the palace as 'an old wretched building, and that part of it newly built of brick very ill understood.' The beautiful city, 'certainly, after London, one of the noblest of England, for its venerable cathedral, number of stately churches, cleanness of the streets, and buildings of flint so exquisitely headed and squared,' would have been enough to keep us in good-humour, more especially when helped out by the pleasures of conversation with the author of 'Religio Medici' and the sight of his 'paradise' and 'cabinet of rarities.' Then again it would have been pleasant to see Evelyn playing the host at Sayes Court to all his great visitors, Charles II and James II, and Henrietta Maria, and Clarendon, and many more. Clarendon came one day in 1662 with 'his lady, his purse, and his mace borne before him,' and they 'collationed with us and were very merry.' And then, a few years later, we get the reverse of the picture: 'Visited the Lord Chancellor, to whom His Majesty had sent for the seals a few days before. I found him in his bed-chamber, very sad. . . . He was my particular kind friend on all occasions.' One likes, too, the human touch in his note on the 19th June, 1683:

'I returned to town in a coach with the Earl of Clarendon, when, passing by the glorious palace of his father, built but a few years before, which they were now demolishing . . . I turned my head the contrary way till the coach had gone past it, lest I might minister occasion of speaking of it; which must needs have grieved him, that in so short time their pomp was fallen.'

The magician of English history has given us all an almost affectionate intimacy with that age and its great persons; and one likes to see them in this way through Evelyn's glass, alive and moving on their own stage, where they played their parts, that then seemed, and sometimes were, so big with fate. The quiet Evelyn watches it all; goes to visit the bishops in the Tower one day, and dines, one hates to add, with Lord Chancellor Jeffreys the next. Probably in his position it was not easy to refuse a Lord Chancellor's invitation. At any rate Evelyn was no great lover of Jeffreys, speaking of him as 'of nature cruel and a slave of the Court,' and commenting with disgust on the fact that he and another judge, on December 5, 1683, went to a wedding and spent the afternoon and evening 'till eleven at night in drinking healths, taking tobacco, and talking much beneath the gravity of judges who had but a day or two before condemned Mr Algernon Sidney.' Evelyn had not been at that famous trial, nor was he apparently at that of the Seven Bishops; but he was in court during the most critical of the trials that arose out of the Popish Plot, when Wakeham, the Queen's physician, was acquitted, and the power of Oates began to decline.

It is unnecessary to enlarge further on the closeness of Evelyn's relations with the great events and famous personages of his day. But his Diary is by no means entirely given up to the political things and people with whom history chiefly occupies herself. No man, indeed, can have eyes for everything, and Evelyn is blind to many things which his readers would gladly have had him notice and record. He tells us nothing of the condition of the mass of the people, rarely speaks of poor persons or servants, rarely mentions the clothes he wore or the food he ate, never, at any rate, with that pleasure of memory unashamed which gives such details the

smack of life in Pepys or Boswell. He never gossips; tells us little of his neighbours' vices, and nothing of their follies; would assuredly not have recorded, if there had been any such matters to record, his wife's jealousy of his attentions to her maid; gives no such touches of rude veracity as that of Pepys' sister, for whom a husband must be found at once as 'she grows old and ugly,' or that of poor Mr Pechell, 'whose red nose makes me ashamed to be seen with him, though otherwise a good-natured man.' In all these matters, indeed, there is a whole world of difference between Evelyn and Pepys. Nothing that can come into a man's head fails to find its way on to Pepys' paper; nothing that cannot with decency and dignity be said in public by a gentleman is thought worthy of a place in Evelyn's. There is no denying it: Evelyn is a man of culture and quality; Pepys is an impudently actual human being. But for people who have Shelley's taste for 'such society as is quiet, wise, and good,' there are few books that have a more soothing and pleasing quality than Evelyn's. Nearly everything that virtue values has an honoured place in it, and most things that intelligence studies to understand.

Oddly enough, he tells us little of his reading, though his habit was to sit over his book till one or two in the morning. But he tells us everything of his sight-seeing, which may be said to have been half the business of his long life. The diary of his travels abroad, which fills most of Mr Dobson's first volume, is as good a picture as one could desire of the use an intelligent Englishman made of the grand tour in the seventeenth century. Every day he is seeing and hearing what is to be seen and heard in the way of religion, politics, art, science, and, most of all, his beloved architecture. So he pursues his way through the Low Countries, and France and Italy, till he gets to Naples, when he characteristically turns back, having been assured by 'divers experienced and curious persons' that the rest of the world was 'plain and prodigious barbarism.' And in England he is a very guide-book of great houses—Euston, and Audley End, and Cassiobury, and the rest—which he is never tired of visiting and describing. Some he had a hand in building, as Cornbury, where 'we designed a handsome chapel that was yet wanting'; and everywhere, of

course, the author of 'Sylva' observes gardens and advises about them, helping forward the planting of trees and making of 'paradises' for use, for beauty, and for delight. It is curious, by the way, to notice that it was in May and June 1643, in the middle of the Civil War, that, by his brother's permission, he 'made a fish-pond, an island, and some other solitudes and retirements at Wotton, which gave the first occasion of improving them to those waterworks and gardens which afterwards . . . became the most famous of England.'

Everywhere, at home and abroad, in time of war as in time of peace, he goes on his way in the same fashion, intent on all things in and out of doors that make for the advance, the adornment, and the civilisation of human life. And these are the things that fill his book, though, of course, he will incidentally give us glimpses of other things, such as, for instance, the extravagant hospitalities and foolish magnificence of these days. His father, as high sheriff, is attended by '116 servants, every one liveried in green satin doublets'; his brother's supporters 'eat and drink him out of near 2000*l*.' at an election; Lord Arlington entertains '200 people and half as many horses, besides servants and guards,' for fifteen days at Euston; and, when a man is made a bishop he must, like the author of 'Microcosmographie,' give a banquet costing 600*l*. to 'judges, nobility, clergy, and gentlemen innumerable.' What he tells us of social life is chiefly of this grandiose and semi-public order; things the newspaper might record, not the parlour trifles of Pepys. In their place we have to content ourselves with the new art of skating as 'performed before their Majesties by divers gentlemen' in St James' Park, and with an account of several London fogs.

But after all, as we said, the first interest of a diary lies in the diarist. What manner of man does Evelyn reveal himself to be in an autobiography extending over some seventy years?

Well, the man of culture and intelligence has already been in evidence. But that is a long way from being the whole man. There is, besides, a true patriot, a sincere Christian and churchman, the best of friends, the most devoted of husbands and fathers. All his life through he cared and worked for his country, for the most part

without any reward but that of his conscience. It is curious to see him at the Great Fire of London, how public-spirited in his action he is, taking the sick and wounded under his care, and how prettily he mingles the Christian and the scholar, Virgil and St Paul, in his meditations on the scene of ruin, '*non hic habemus stabilem civitatem*' — 'London was, but is no more.' And so in the Plague. Being a commissioner for the care of the Dutch prisoners, he stuck to his post in London when all the world fled, 'being resolved,' as he says, 'to look after my charge, trusting in the providence and goodness of God.' This was paid work and plain duty; but most of the multifarious labours he underwent for public objects were of that order of voluntary offerings to the country which have always been the special glory of English gentlemen. He was a member of the Commission for Charitable Uses, of the Commission for Sewers, of that for reforming the buildings and streets of London, of that of Trade and Plantations, and of that for founding Greenwich Hospital. He was also a Younger Brother of the Trinity House, and for a short and anxious time a Commissioner to execute the office of Lord Privy Seal.

All these offices, except the commissionership of trade, and possibly that of the Privy Seal, were unpaid; and his diary shows how much time, labour, and worry some of them caused him. Nor would he be rewarded by honours. He might have had them, even the Bath being once offered him, and plain knighthood many times; but all such offers were consistently refused. He worked, as the best men do, because he liked work and because he really cared about the public good. The list of actual offices he held is far from exhausting the record of what he did, or tried to do, for the public. He had a great deal to do with Charles II's foundation of Chelsea Hospital, working constantly about it with Sir Stephen Fox, and characteristically insisting that it should contain a library for the old soldiers to read in. And so he was the person to whose help Tenison turned when he was planning London's first public library. He pressed on the King's plans for the proper rebuilding of London after the Fire, and himself went into a scheme for an embankment of the Thames, by which he lost 500*l*. He obtained the Arundel Marbles for Oxford, and the

Arundel MSS. for the Royal Society. Half of his many pamphlets and publications aimed at some public improvement, from the 'Fumifugium,' which wanted to give London smokeless air, to the great 'Sylva,' which actually gave England an abundance of trees to supply her fleets. The man was, in fact, a born utilitarian of the better sort, the sort which has been refined by liberal studies and spiritualised by religion, and knows that national progress is an affair of many things besides increase of material wealth.

In all these matters he is really a type of the best kind of Englishman. No man ever more instinctively disliked the 'falsehood of extremes'; but, moderate as his principles were, they were definite and unchangeable. Nothing in the world would have made him either a Republican or a Jacobite, either a Papist or a Presbyterian. As in the face of the Commonwealth, so in the face of James II, he remained a strong Church of England man. And his position was one based on thought and study, not on mere habit and inheritance. Few divines could give a better account than his of the English Church's view of the Real Presence; and he had earned the right to speak with contemptuous pity of Charles II's posthumous attack on her doctrines, and to affirm that she is, 'of all the Christians professions on the earth, the most primitive, apostolical, and excellent.' That Church never stood higher than in his day, and he certainly has a place among her model laymen. She has a right to be proud, not only of his beautiful private pieties and charities, but of the activity and honesty of his public life. We have seen the courage with which he refused to conceal his Churchmanship and loyalty under the Commonwealth. In the same way, under James II, when he was Commissioner of the Privy Seal, he twice refused, in spite of some timid advice from Sancroft, to put the seal to licenses for the publication of missals and other 'Popish books' contrary to the law. No action could be more certain to offend James II; and it was doubly brave and honest of him at the time he did it, for he was at that moment prosecuting a claim against the Crown for 6000*l.*, of which the King's displeasure might easily have deprived him. It should be recorded to James' credit that Evelyn got his money a year later.

It is plain that he was universally respected by all those with or under whom he worked. And, if he is English in his high respect for the law, he is even more so in the prudence and moderation with which he always desires that laws should be made and administered. The very opposite of a fanatic and doctrinaire, he is everywhere, as the typical Englishman always is, in favour of moderation and compromise and the *via media*. He likes neither the Tory violences of 1685 nor the Whig violences of 1689; thinks Algernon Sidney had 'very hard measure'; would have no objection, though an opponent of the obviously political indulgence of 1672, to 'some relaxations' in 'the present Establishment,' nor even to some moderate plan of comprehension; and he is no nonjuror, being too much a man of sense to believe in passive obedience, and too much a man of learning to be ignorant that there was abundant precedent for the recognition of duly consecrated bishops whose predecessors had been deposed on secular grounds. So far he leans in the Whig direction; but he is very hesitating in his reception of William III; and it takes the Assassination Plot to make him fully realise how invaluable that king's life is to England. But here, as always, he objects to extreme measures, and when all lawyers were called upon to take an oath renouncing James II, he censures the proposal as 'a very entangling contrivance of the Parliament.' So again, anti-Papist as he was, he disapproves the hard laws about the estates of Roman Catholics. Indeed, it is scarcely too much to say that, if Ireland had been governed in his spirit, we should never have had an Irish question; and, if we had always handled colonial sensitiveness in the civil and conciliatory fashion he and his Council of Plantations recommended, we might never have lost America.

The truth is that he was guided, in his political as in his private and social life, by the kindly equity natural to a Christian and a gentleman. That age clung to many practices which we should now call barbarous and inhuman; but in all such matters Evelyn belongs rather to the world of Cowper and Wilberforce than to the world of Jeffreys. He hated horse-baiting as 'a wicked and barbarous sport,' was soon weary of the 'rude and dirty pastime' of bull-baiting, and declared some contemporary methods of warfare to be 'totally averse to humanity or

Christianity.' Indeed he is a grave man all through, and, though so strong a churchman, has not lived among Puritans for nothing. He despises and dislikes the 'impertinences' of the Carnival and its 'idle, ridiculous pastimes,' is no friend to foolish revellings anywhere, whether at the Middle Temple or at Newmarket, and escapes to his books when they take to gambling at Euston. There is as much of the scholar's disdain, no doubt, in this, as of the Puritan's principles; but in either way it is characteristic enough of the man. The picture he leaves us is of a man wholly given up to serious things, not by a severe sense of duty, but by natural taste and temper. His life is entirely in the things of the mind and the things of the soul. It is one long record of happy activities and happy pieties. His worldly prosperities and his many bereavements are referred with equal devotion to Him who was in his eyes not so much the 'great Taskmaster' of Milton's noble sonnet, as the wise and merciful Father of all men. Nothing can disturb his quiet faith; not the loss of his wonderful boy, nor that of his saintly and accomplished daughter, nor the death of so many more of 'my very dear children'; not the Plague, nor the Fire, nor even the Court of Charles II. And so he moves on to his serene and beautiful old age, in which every birthday looks back with thankful piety on the past, and forward with expectant submission to the inevitable and steadily nearing end. He died at Wotton on the 27th of February 1706, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. There is no better key to his life than the motto he chose for himself: 'omnia explorate; meliora retinete.' He is a man of miscellaneous culture who never became its slave, but was strong enough to choose among its treasures and to use the best.

JOHN C. BAILEY.

Art. XII.—THE IRISH UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

Report of the Royal Commission on Trinity College, Dublin, and the University of Dublin. Cd. 3311, 3312 of 1907.

THE problem of Irish university education has presented itself to statesmen of all parties for the past seventy years as worthy of the most serious consideration by those who desire the welfare of Ireland. Sir Robert Peel, Mr Gladstone, Lord Beaconsfield, in turn attempted its solution, but each in turn failed. Neither the Queen's Colleges nor the Royal University of Ireland have fulfilled the hopes of their founders, while Mr Gladstone's University Bill never passed into law, and was, indeed, the main cause of the fall of his first Administration.

In 1901 a Royal Commission was appointed, with Lord Robertson as its chairman, to enquire into the unsatisfactory condition of university life in Ireland outside Trinity College, Dublin; and, on the appearance of their Report, the history of the problem formed the subject of an article in this Review (April 1903). Legislation did not follow the Report, which had, at any rate, as the chairman said, 'the merit of dispelling some illusions'; and it was generally recognised that it would be difficult to support in Parliament any proposal for university reform until the opportunities offered to Irishmen by Trinity College, which had been excluded from the purview of the Robertson Commission, had been made the subject of enquiry. It was an open secret that domestic reform was desired by some leading members of Trinity College, as its ancient constitution, with its system of government by the Provost and seven Seniors, called for revision and reconstruction in view of modern educational needs and aspirations.

Accordingly the College consented in 1906 to the appointment of a Royal Commission, which was empowered not only to examine the domestic relations of the society but also 'to enquire and report upon the place which Trinity College, Dublin, and the University of Dublin now hold as organs of the higher education in Ireland, and the steps proper to be taken to increase their usefulness to the country.' It would appear from subsequent events that those who, in the interests of

internal reform, acquiesced in these terms of reference, hardly realised that the whole question of university education was to be re-opened by the Commission. This is, however, the result of their enquiry and Report. The Report cannot be regarded as a conclusive document, for the Commissioners are sharply divided as to the policy which they recommend to Parliament—a significant circumstance which illustrates the complexity of the problem set before them. It would have been natural to expect that this divergence of opinion among the Commissioners appointed by the Crown would suggest to the Irish Government the prudence of a careful and dispassionate survey of the situation, in the light of the evidence that had been published, before they committed themselves to any new policy. But the late Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr Bryce, did not take this view; and within three days of the publication of the Report, although he was on the eve of resigning his Irish responsibilities, he made a speech in which he sketched the scheme of university reconstruction which Dublin Castle had devised. It remains to be seen whether Mr Birrell and the Cabinet will adopt this scheme; and we propose to give some reasons for our hope that they will abandon it in favour of less perilous and less destructive proposals.

What, then, is the educational situation in Ireland as it presented itself to the Royal Commissioners of 1906? What are the opportunities for university education?

First, in every sense, stands Trinity College, Dublin, which has been for three centuries an autonomous college with university powers, the distinction between college and university being merely nominal. The Commissioners report unanimously that, as it stands, the College 'is a noble institution for the maintenance of sound learning, not unworthy of its great traditions, and of the affection and veneration with which it is regarded by its children'—a verdict which will not surprise those who have personal acquaintance with that great society. Nevertheless, the Commissioners point out that certain changes in its constitution and its system of government are desirable in the interests of education and of the country; and their unanimous recommendations under this head, although they have attracted little public

notice, form perhaps the most valuable part of their Report. They deserve the attention of the members of the College, and it is to be hoped that they will not be overlooked when the larger questions at issue come before Parliament.

Trinity College is not, however, a sufficient provision for the educational needs of Ireland. More particularly, the Commissioners point out that 'it has never been, and is not now, to an extent adequate to the reasonable requirements of the country, an organ for the higher education of the Roman Catholic population.' This is not due to any unwillingness on the part of Trinity to welcome Roman Catholics. She was founded, indeed, in the interests of the Established Church of Ireland, and has been continuously supported by the members of that Church. It is probable that they will always be her chief supporters. But, so far back as 1793, she opened her doors to Roman Catholics; and since 1873 all posts of emolument and profit (except those of the Divinity school), and all prizes, fellowships, professorships, and seats on the governing body, have been offered to all comers without distinction of creed.

Nevertheless, Roman Catholics do not matriculate at Trinity College in large numbers; and the reason is not far to seek. Their bishops, to whom they are bound to defer, deprecate the system of mixed education, which they regard as dangerous to 'faith and morals.' It is not very clear how or why young Roman Catholics may enter Oxford or Cambridge, with the Church's sanction, while they may not enter Dublin; but the fact is clear and is admitted. With unwavering consistency the Roman Catholic bishops have declared that Trinity College is not a suitable place for their youth; and its unsuitability is due to that 'undenominational' character which is the distinctive note of its life.

We have in the Royal University of Ireland (established in 1879) an Examining Board, which does useful service in testing the work of students educated at the Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway, as well as at the Jesuit College in Dublin. When it was set up, sanguine persons expected that it would relieve the difficulty of Roman Catholic education. But it has not succeeded, and for two reasons. Its governing body is constructed

on the principle of denominational 'balance'; and all questions affecting the appointment of officials or examiners are determined in the first instance by considerations of religious profession. This deprives the University of academic dignity, and is an insuperable obstacle to its gaining any academic prestige. Secondly, it is only an examining board and not a university in the true sense; and its establishment has done much to degrade the idea of university education, and to conceal from Irishmen the true functions of a university. These facts, again, are not in dispute; and, despite the good work done at Belfast College and also at the Jesuit College in Dublin, the provision for university teaching outside Trinity College is still inadequate and unsatisfactory.

In the face of these facts, a majority of the Commission appointed in 1901 recommended the transformation of the Royal University into a teaching university, embracing as constituent colleges those of Belfast, Cork, and Galway, as well as a new Roman Catholic college to be established in Dublin on a handsome scale. Having regard to the objections raised by the Roman Catholic hierarchy to 'mixed' education, and to the evidence submitted as to the safeguards which would be deemed essential by them, the Commissioners advised that on the governing body of this new college seats should be assigned to two Roman Catholic bishops; and also that of the four visitors of the college two should be bishops, who, in all cases of alleged heresy on the part of a teacher, should define the doctrine of the Roman Church. This was frankly to recognise the denominational difficulty; and it was probably in part because of the objections entertained by many Englishmen to the establishment or endowment of a 'denominational' institution that the recommendations of the Commission were not taken up by Mr Balfour's Government.

The question at issue was not, however, permitted to drop. On January 1, 1904, a letter on the subject was addressed to the newspapers by the Earl of Dunraven, which—rightly or wrongly—was regarded by the public as expressing the mind of the new Under-Secretary for Ireland, Sir Antony MacDonnell. Lord Dunraven's plan involved the abolition of the Royal University and the transformation of the University of Dublin into a federal university, comprising Trinity College, Belfast College,

and a new college for Roman Catholics in Dublin. The scheme was not elaborated in detail, but it was clear that Lord Dunraven's desire was, on the one hand, to secure for the new College which he proposed to create a share in the prestige of Dublin University, and, on the other hand, to provide for its 'autonomy,' that is, its practical independence of the University Court, which was to be given very little power. This *ballon d'essai* attracted some attention, as it was taken to indicate the direction in which Dublin Castle was moving; and the authorities of Trinity College lost no time in conveying to the Irish Government their determination to resist any such invasion of their ancient constitution.

In these circumstances the Commissioners of 1906 undertook their task of collecting evidence. It had been matter of rumour that the Roman Catholic hierarchy had been persuaded of the hopelessness of any proposal to give them direct representation on the governing body of a new State-endowed institution, such as had been recommended by the Robertson Commission; and that they would be content if means were devised by which their influence would be secured, although not formally recognised. As they are masters of the situation and have complete control of their laity, it was obvious that no legislation could lead to practical result without their sanction; and accordingly the statement which they submitted to the Commission was rightly regarded as of the first importance. It was quite clear and definite. On no terms will the bishops accept mixed education at Trinity College. They desire a Roman Catholic university, and nothing short of that will satisfy them; but they are 'prepared to accept,' i.e. as an instalment, a Roman Catholic college either in the University of Dublin or in the Royal University.*

These are the alternatives suggested by the bishops; and the Commissioners wisely recognised that their choice was limited to these. Like their predecessors of 1901, they refused to recommend a Roman Catholic university; and in view of the temper of Parliament they were probably right. But it must be borne in mind, nevertheless, that every other solution is regarded by

* Appendix to First Report, p. 82.

the Roman hierarchy as incomplete, and that there is no likelihood of the question being set at rest by the adoption of any other policy. It may be inconsistent with the trend of modern opinion for the State to establish and endow a university governed in Roman Catholic interests and animated by Ultramontane ideals. But, if that view be taken, a final settlement will not be reached; and the weary agitation of the past seventy years may be expected to continue.

In respect of the other suggested schemes before the Commissioners a preliminary observation may be made. Both are really 'denominational' in substance and in intention. If they were not this, they would not please those for whom it is proposed to carry them into law. The Roman bishops do not, indeed, now ask that direct control of a new college shall be placed in their hands or that they shall be directly represented on its governing body. They said in 1897* that they did not claim for ecclesiastics a majority of seats on such a body; and it has been alleged on their behalf that they would consent to a board containing some Protestants. But neither of these statements affects the issue. Unless the constitution of the governing body be such that, in fact, it will always be predominantly Roman Catholic, it will not satisfy the conditions that the bishops have repeatedly laid down as essential; for otherwise there would be no security that the 'faith and morals' of the students would be protected. Thus, to allege that Roman Catholics only desire a college 'as Catholic as Trinity is Protestant' is entirely misleading. Trinity College is Protestant in tone only because few Roman Catholics go there. If they matriculated in large numbers and won, in course of time, the majority of seats on the Board, no Protestant would have any ground of complaint, nor would complaints be heard with patience by Parliament. It is of the essence of an undenominational system like that of Trinity that there is no security that any particular creed shall always be predominant. But a college thus constituted for Roman Catholics would cease to satisfy them if it were ever 'captured' by Protestants. There is, therefore, a fundamental difference between the constitution of Trinity and

* Appendix to First Report of Lord Robertson's Commission, p. 388.

that of the new college which Roman Catholics desiderate. They ask to be started with a clear Roman Catholic majority on the governing body in order that it may be continued *in perpetuum*. This is denominationalism, however it be disguised. We desire to point this out, not because we object to endowment for denominational purposes, but because it is right that the nature of the Roman claim should be made clear. It is a claim, not for equality, but for privilege on the score of religious scruple; and, while we do not protest against such concessions, we think that those who grant them should do so with their eyes open.

Now it is between the two alternatives of a denominational college—free from tests, but with a constitution which shall permanently satisfy Roman Catholics—within and without the University of Dublin that the Commissioners of 1906 were divided. Sir E. Fry (the chairman), Sir A. Rücker, and Mr S. H. Butcher, M.P., think that the college should be in the Royal University, which they would reconstruct on the lines laid down by the Robertson Commission. On the other hand, Sir Thomas Raleigh, Chief Baron Palles, Dr Douglas Hyde, and Dr Coffey, recommend the abolition of the Royal University and the reconstruction of Dublin University so as to embrace the new Roman Catholic College and the Queen's Colleges as well as Trinity. Prof. Henry Jackson approves this scheme in theory, but declines to recommend it in practice; and Mr Kelleher (himself a Roman Catholic) thinks that no new college or university is needed. Thus there are on the one side an eminent English judge (a Quaker), and two distinguished academic experts; and on the other an eminent Irish judge (a Roman Catholic), a well-known Oxford man with Indian experience, a Roman Catholic physician, and the president of the Gaelic League. The situation was interesting until Mr Bryce's speech on January 25 showed that Dublin Castle had made up its mind quite independently of the Report of the Commission; and that it favoured a scheme which—unlike the scheme of the four Commissioners in many important points—resembled it in this, that it proposed to deprive the corporation of Trinity College of their charter, and to give the name of Dublin University to a new and untried institution.

We should have anticipated that Trinity College would take exception to a scheme so destructive of her dignity and unjust to her position. But we own that we were surprised to find that not only Trinity but all the other colleges concerned had entered a protest before the Commission against the adoption of the policy of Dublin Castle. The heads of Belfast, Cork, Galway, the Senate of the Royal University, the President of the Jesuit College, were as emphatic in their objections as were the Trinity representatives. It is clear that the alliance between Trinity and the lesser Irish colleges is desired by none of the parties concerned. That in itself furnishes a strong argument against the 'nationalisation' of Trinity College—as the phrase goes—by these drastic measures. It is true that, since Mr Bryce's speeches, several educational institutions have expressed their willingness to acquiesce in his proposals; but that is not surprising, inasmuch as he informed them that, if they did not agree to this scheme, they would get no other. But Father Delany and the Jesuits have not yet been coerced into approval; and a representative body of Royal University graduates in Ulster have promulgated a strong protest.

The objections urged against this scheme of reconstruction by the various witnesses are manifold, but one of the most interesting is founded on the conviction that Ireland is at present in need of a university of the modern type, like Birmingham or Leeds, rather than of increased provision for the old-fashioned university culture. To force all Irish education into the Dublin groove would be as unwise as to force all English education into the Oxford and Cambridge groove; and accordingly some highly competent judges recommend the reconstruction of the Royal University as a teaching university of the democratic type, Trinity College being left to develop on its own lines.

We sympathise with those who would fain see young Irishmen of all creeds associated in the generous rivalries of one great university. It is natural to think that the asperities of Irish life might be softened were such a system of common education established. But unhappily the thing is impossible. 'Mixed' education in a single college is forbidden by the bishops; and it has been made

plain that separate laboratories and separate schools of medicine and science would be needed if a Roman Catholic college were associated with Trinity in the university. 'Union of hearts' is not promoted by forcing two unwilling partners into an alliance; and we fear that such a policy would intensify rather than mitigate the spirit of opposition between the two parties in Ireland. The only way to avoid friction would be to concede almost absolute autonomy to each of the Dublin colleges, giving each its own equipment and its own professors, with authority to determine its own courses of study, and to reduce the powers of the University Court to a minimum. But this would be to set up two distinct universities in Dublin, and to do so not openly but by an unworthy artifice. We need not point out, moreover, that to give the Dublin degree to the members of a new society not subject to the laws and the discipline which have won for that degree an honourable reputation would be a gross injustice and a fraud upon the public. In brief, if the colleges are really 'autonomous,' in the sense that they are independent of the university authority, they become distinct universities and should be so designated. This is clearly understood by those Irishmen who ask for 'autonomous' colleges, but it is not fully appreciated in England where the control of a university over its constituent colleges is regarded as a matter of course.

The analogy of English university methods, indeed, is apt to mislead when it is applied in the widely different conditions which prevail in Ireland. For the success of the multiple college system at Oxford and Cambridge depends on the fact that the several colleges are animated by similar ideals and aspirations, and that they do not represent conflicting and inconsistent principles. Thus they submit themselves willingly to the discipline imposed by the university; and divergence of political or theological creed does not seriously affect the issue when courses of study have to be laid down and university examiners appointed. These things are settled on academic grounds. Far otherwise is it in Ireland. There the evil custom has been fostered by successive governments of 'balancing' the several religious denominations on public boards of education; and the results have been disastrous, the academic fitness of candidates for office being a matter

second in importance to their religious profession. We cannot wonder that a corporation with the traditions of Trinity College should oppose with all its might the introduction of this unworthy principle of 'balance' into the University of Dublin. Trinity desires to get the best available teachers, irrespective of their politics or their creed. That is frankly acknowledged by Roman Catholic authorities to be an ideal which they do not share.* The four Commissioners betray their consciousness of this difficulty by the recommendation that all university professors shall be appointed by special boards of experts; but Mr Bryce's proposals are not theirs. Mr Bryce would leave all such appointments to the University Court, although the precedents of the Royal University as well as of the primary and secondary Education Boards show that an artificially balanced governing body is little likely to vote on grounds of academic fitness only. Ireland has already perceived the defects of the system by which Dublin Castle pretends to secure 'equality' in university administration.

The difficulty emerges in another direction. Under the control of a University Court composed of representatives, on the one side of the liberal ideal, and on the other of Ultramontaniam, the freedom of research and of teaching would be seriously impaired. The university professors of biology or geology would be subject at any moment to the intervention of the Court if their teaching should transgress the limits laid down by the Vatican. The domain of 'faith and morals' is very extensive; and an intolerable system of 'economy' and 'reserve' would be forced upon the men who ought to be the leaders of scientific thought. That religion does not need such defences is a first principle of the Churches of the Reformation; and the institution of an *Index expurgatorius* and the anathemas of the Vatican are entirely inconsistent with liberal ideals of education. To give a Roman Catholic college, as such, representation on the supreme Court of the only university in Ireland—and this is Mr Bryce's proposal—would be to concede far more to Roman Catholic scruple than would be granted by the endowment of a distinctively Roman Catholic university,

* Dr Delany's evidence (Appendix to Final Report, p. 278).

for it would confine all university teaching in Ireland within the limits approved by the Roman hierarchy. It is because of this obvious consequence of the scheme of Dublin Castle that academic bodies throughout the kingdom have felt themselves constrained to intervene, and that protests have been signed in the interests of free thought and speech at Oxford and Cambridge, as well as at the Scottish universities, and at the younger academic institutions in England.

These considerations seem to us to prove that Mr Birrell will be well advised if he rejects the *damnosa hereditas* bequeathed to him by Mr Bryce. Something, indeed, ought to be done in the interests of Irish education; but there is another alternative, namely, the scheme of the three Commissioners, of a new college in a reconstructed Royal University. Belfast and Cork would benefit by this reconstruction, as well as the Roman Catholics in Leinster; and the objections to a federal system, although not to be ignored, apply with less force to this plan than to Mr Bryce's, for the colleges to be associated are not yet strong enough to stand alone. This is a scheme which will secure for Irish Roman Catholics all that they ask, except, indeed, the prestige of Trinity College. But this they can have at any time by becoming members of her society, and they have no title to demand it on any other terms. In Irish politics the ideal is rarely attainable; but that is no reason for refusing to seek the best within reach. And to adopt a modest scheme such as that of the three Commissioners, which the Roman hierarchy have declared themselves 'prepared to accept,' which Trinity College would heartily and unselfishly support, and which many academic dignitaries outside Trinity would prefer for the present to all other schemes, is wiser policy than to destroy, for the sake of a rash experiment and to gratify doctrinaire politicians, the one British institution in Ireland which has prospered, the one institution of which all Irishmen are proud.

Art. XIII.—THE DERIVATION OF THE MODERN HORSE.

1. *Prejvalsky's Horse (Equus Prezwalskii)*. By W. Salensky (1902). Translated by Captain M. H. Hayes and O. Charnock Bradley, with introduction by J. C. Ewart. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1907.
2. *The Multiple Origin of Horses and Ponies*. By J. C. Ewart. Trans. Highland Society of Scotland, 1904.
3. *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*. By W. Ridgeway. Cambridge: University Press, 1905.
4. *On Skulls of Horses from the Roman Fort at Newstead, with Observations on the Origin of Domestic Horses*. By J. C. Ewart. Trans. Royal Society. Edinburgh, 1907.
5. *On the Origin and History of Domestic Horses*, being the Introduction to 'The Horses of the British Empire.' Edited by Sir H. F. de Trafford, Bart. London: Southwood, 1907.

IN prehistoric times wild horses seem to have been as abundant in the south of Europe as were zebras half a century ago in South Africa. The zebras of South Africa, down to about 1870, consisted of three quite distinct species, viz. (1) the common zebra (*Equus zebra*), adapted for a life among the mountains; (2) Burchell's zebra (*E. burchelli*), represented by several varieties which frequented scrub and open plains; (3) the quagga (*E. quagga*), which was exterminated while adapting itself for a desert life.

The existence during recent times of three kinds of zebras, leads one to enquire, amongst other things, (1) did the horses, so abundant in the south of Europe during the Palæolithic period, consist of several species adapted for different environments? and (2) did the Palæolithic men of southern Europe, like the natives of South Africa before the advent of Europeans, simply regard the horse as a beast of the chase, or were they in the habit of maintaining semi-wild herds of horses as Laplanders to-day maintain semi-wild herds of reindeer?

In the case of horses, as in the case of the dog and certain other domestic animals, two views have prevailed before as well as after the publication of Darwin's 'Origin of Species.' According to some writers, all domestic horses have sprung from a single species; ac-

cording to others several wild species were domesticated and afterwards blended to form the modern breeds. Darwin, who devoted much time to the study of the Equidæ, adopted the view of those naturalists who 'look at all the breeds as having descended from a single species'; but he was careful to point out that, 'as several species and varieties of the horse existed during the later Tertiary periods, and as Rutimeyer found differences in the size and form of the skull in the earliest known domesticated horses, we ought not to feel sure that all our breeds are descended from a single species.'*

Sanson, Piètrément, and nearly all other recent writers on the Equidæ have followed Darwin, without however making any reservations. M. Sanson, though at one time committed to the view that domestic horses had sprung from eight distinct species, makes it clear in the last (1901) edition of the 'Traité de Zootechnie' that he now believes they have all descended from a single species consisting of two distinct varieties (*E. c. asiaticus* and *E. c. africanus*) including eight races. Piètrément, while adopting Sanson's classification, believed that the African variety (*E. c. africanus*) was domesticated by the Mongols to the south of the Great Altai Mountains, and that the Asiatic variety (*E. c. asiaticus*) was domesticated by the Aryans near Lake Balkash to the west of the Ala Tau Mountains. Further, Piètrément formed the conclusion that six of Sanson's races had been independently domesticated in more or less isolated European areas.

The view that several wild species, which differed in conformation as well as in colour, were domesticated and afterwards blended in varying degrees to form the domestic breeds was advocated by (amongst others) Col. Hamilton Smith in 1841 and Prof. Ridgeway in 1902. Col. Smith† believed that domestic horses had descended from five species or *stirpes* of the following colours—white, black, bay, piebald, and dun. Prof. Ridgeway, mainly on historical grounds, arrived at the conclusion that all the improved breeds of the world have resulted from the blending of a fine North African variety of a bay colour inclined to be striped, with a coarse variety

* 'Variation of Plants and Animals under Domestication,' I, 53.

† 'The Horse' (Naturalist's Library, vol. xii).

of Upper Europe and Upper Asia of a dun or white colour.*

Very different views have been held as to the ancestral history of the Equidæ. Naturalists, having accepted Darwin's doctrine of descent with modifications, for a time assumed that the domestic horses had descended from a Pliocene form connected by a single line of ancestors with a primitive five-toed Eocene ungulate. Now, however, many believe that, as there are at the present day several species of zebras, there lived contemporaneously all through the Tertiary epoch several species of 'fossil' horses. From recent investigations, largely due to the initiative and influence of Prof. H. Fairfield Osborn of the American Museum of Natural History, we have gained a wonderfully complete knowledge of the remote ancestors of the modern Equidæ. The oldest 'fossil' horses known were about twelve inches in height, but more like members of the dog family than dwarf horses. Of these little horses there were several species, some in the south of England (they occur in the London clay of Kent and Suffolk), some on the Continent, and others in the United States and Mexico. In course of time the four-toed Lower Eocene horses, generally now known as the *Eohippus* group, gave place to somewhat larger species which form the *Proterohippus* group. Though measuring fourteen inches at the shoulder and provided with more complex teeth, the fore-limbs in this later Eocene 'fossil' horse still carried four hoofs and the heels (hocks) were not yet raised very high from the ground. A perfect specimen of *Proterohippus*, found in Wyoming, indicates that the successors of the *Eohippus* family were in conformation not unlike a modern whippet.

After the lapse of untold ages the small Eocene horses with four hoofs in front and three behind were superseded by forms preserved in the early Miocene deposits in which there were three toes in front as well as behind. These Miocene 'fossil' horses, which measured about eighteen inches at the withers, were represented by several species in America, which form the *Mesohippus* group, and by somewhat different species (the *Anchi-*

* 'Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse.' Cambridge: University Press, 1905.

therium group) in Europe. The early Miocene forms are especially interesting because a study of their teeth and limbs indicates that they were beginning to adapt themselves for very different kinds of environments, for a life in the plains as well as in the vicinity of forests. The middle toe of each foot (which corresponds to the middle digit in the human hand and foot) is not only decidedly larger than the lateral (second and fourth) toes, but also longer. In some species the lateral toes are appreciably shorter and more slender than in others, and in all cases the teeth are being adapted to deal with harder and drier food; evidence of this we especially have in the cupping of the outer incisors, i.e. the appearance for the first time of the 'mark' in the incisors so characteristic of existing Equidæ. The various species of *Meshippus* of the Lower Miocene in course of time gave place to Upper Miocene species which, though only measuring ten hands at the withers, were in some respects more specialised than any of the recent Equidæ. One (*Hypohippus*) was specially adapted for a forest life; one (*Neohipparion*) had long slender limbs adapted for boundless plains; while a third (*Protohippus*) seems to have been adapted for living partly in forests and partly in the open.

In 1901 a complete skeleton of *Hypohippus* was found in eastern Colorado. This Miocene forest horse was provided with large lateral toes which served, as Prof. Osborn points out, 'to keep the feet from sinking in the relatively soft ground of the forests or lowlands where it sought the softer kinds of herbaceous food, for which its short simple teeth were best fitted.' Of even greater interest than the limbs and teeth is the primitive condition of the skull in *Hypohippus*. It has long been recognised that in typical forest forms, such as the elk (*Alces*)—which during a considerable part of the year feeds on spruce-trees—the face is nearly in a line with the cranium, while in steppe and mountain forms, such as goats and sheep, the face is strongly bent downwards on the cranium, apparently to facilitate feeding on short herbage close to the ground. In *Hypohippus* the face was in a line with the cranium, as in the extremely primitive Okapi of tropical Africa, while the lower jaw was short and slender.

Neohipparion differed profoundly from *Hypohippus* alike in the skull, teeth, and limbs. It had evidently

descended from ancestors which had long been adapting themselves for a life on boundless plains and desert wastes, such as are now found in various parts of Africa, where, during parts of the year, the food is scarce, hard, and dry, and the drinking places few and far apart. Built like a Virginian deer, *Neohipparion*, as Prof. Osborn says, was 'delicate and extremely fleet-footed, surpassing the most highly-bred modern racehorse in its speed mechanism.' Even more remarkable than the long slender middle toes and the small functionless lateral toes of *Neohipparion* are the large skull, powerful jaws, and complex teeth. In this Miocene racehorse the face is nearly as much deflected as in sheep, and the lower jaw is long and massive and hinged on to the cranium much further back than in its forest-haunting contemporary *Hypohippus*. In *Protohippus*, the third of these late Miocene 'fossil' horses, we have an intermediate form, neither specially adapted for a forest life nor a life on the plains, but probably, with the help of protective colouring, capable of living in either.

The fleet three-toed *Neohipparion*, as well as the less specialised *Hypohippus* and *Protohippus*, in course of time became extinct; and their place was taken by one-hoofed forms having a general resemblance to the modern Equidæ. During the Pliocene the conditions in the New World evidently continued to be favourable for odd-toed ungulates, for at the beginning of the Pleistocene period, i.e. before the cold phase set in, which culminated in the Glacial epoch, horses flourished from Escholtz Bay in the north to Patagonia in the south.

Before the Tertiary epoch came to an end, or at least before man appeared on the scene, the Equidæ in North America had entirely disappeared; and, though in South America they survived into the human period, they seem to have become extinct before the arrival of Europeans in the sixteenth century. It is said at least ten species of Equidæ flourished in America in preglacial times. In most cases these species are only represented by teeth, fragments of skulls, and dissociated bones of the trunk and limbs. There is, however, one notable exception, for in 1899 a small herd of horses was found preserved on the eastern edge of the Llano Estacado of Texas. It was thought that this Texas horse (*E. scotti*) (one of the last

of the indigenous horses of America) might be an ancestor of some of our domestic breeds; but the very long face, strongly deflected as in *Neohipparion*, the presence of six lumbar vertebræ and the form of the ribs indicate an affinity with zebras rather than with horses.

Though all the preglacial horses of America seem to differ from the modern horses, it is by many assumed that the ancestors of all the living Equidæ, the asses and zebras, as well as the horses, came from the New World. In Miocene times there was a land connexion between Europe and America in the vicinity of the Behring Straits, by means of which there was a free exchange of animals between Asia and the western side of America. It is hence possible that the ancestors of the modern horse came ready-made from the New World.

Until the Pliocene deposits of Central Asia yield up their long-kept secrets, we are not likely to be in a position to say whether the ancestors of the modern Equidæ came from America, or had their origin in Central Asia. Compared with North America, Asia seems to have had comparatively few species of Equidæ during the later part of the Tertiary epoch. In the north of India, in addition to *Hipparion* and its one-hoofed descendants, only two species are known to have existed in Pliocene times, viz. *E. sivalensis* and *E. namadicus*. About the same time *E. stenonis* occurred in England, France, Switzerland, Italy, and North Africa. During the Pleistocene period horses were not only, as already mentioned, extremely abundant in the south of Europe, but they ranged into England and well across Central Europe. How the Pleistocene horses are related to the Pliocene species is still uncertain. Mr Lydekker has suggested that horses of the 'Oriental' or blood-horse type are modified descendants of *E. sivalensis*, while M. Boule believes the 'Occidental' varieties to have sprung from *E. stenonis*. As a matter of fact, it is not yet possible to say which, if any, of the known Pliocene species stand in the relation of ancestors to the Pleistocene species. This being the case, it may be as well at once to enquire how many of the varieties in Europe at the end of the Tertiary epoch contributed characters to modern breeds.

From an examination of skulls and limb-bones from Pleistocene and early Quaternary deposits, and from

caves occupied by Palæolithic man, I have arrived at the conclusion that at or about the end of the Glacial period there existed in Europe at least three distinct species of horses, which may be known as the steppe, forest, and plateau species or varieties. In the steppe variety the face, of medium width, is very long and nearly as strongly bent downwards on the cranium as in sheep. Further, the length of the middle metacarpal* is on an average seven and a half times the width. Of the existence of this variety at the end of the Tertiaries we have evidence from bones found in the south of France and in the Rhine valley. In the forest variety, the face is short and broad, and nearly in a line with the cranium, as in the elk (*Alces*); and the length of the middle metacarpal is on an average five and a half times the width. The Pleistocene deposits of Essex have yielded portions of the skull and limb bones of a typical forest horse. In the plateau variety the face is very decidedly narrower, but only slightly more bent downwards than in the forest variety; and the length of the middle metacarpal is on an average seven and a quarter times the width. Evidence of the existence of horses of the plateau variety has been obtained from the Pleistocene deposits of Auvergne. If these conclusions are justified, it follows that the answer to the first question asked at the outset would be in the affirmative—that several species of horses occurred in the south of Europe towards the end of the Palæolithic period.

The second question was, Did the Palæoliths simply hunt the horse, or were they in the habit of maintaining semi-domesticated herds of horses as Laplanders maintain semi-domesticated herds of reindeer? That the men of the Reindeer age domesticated the horse is made highly probable by the numerous carvings and engravings from the Dordogne caves representing horses wearing halters. Palæolithic man may not have kept herds of horses as modern stock-owners keep herds of cattle; but the existence of these carvings indicates that when horses were subsequently required as beasts of burden, for war, or

* The middle metacarpal corresponds to the bone in the human hand, which extends from the knuckle of the middle finger to the wrist; in the horse it lies between the fetlock joint and the 'knee,' which corresponds to the wrist in man.

the chase, there would be no difficulty either in capturing or controlling them.

The evidence, so far as it goes, points to the existence in Europe, during the Neolithic and Bronze ages, of the same types of horses as flourished during the Palæolithic age. There are in the British Museum remains of horses from Walthamstow, Essex, said to belong to the Neolithic age, to which the plateau, as well as the forest and steppe varieties, had contributed characters. Horses of the forest type have been obtained from prehistoric deposits at Westeregeln, near Magdeburg, and in Brunswick, while remains of horses characterised by the small head and slender limbs of the plateau type (fig. 2) have been procured from prehistoric deposits in Switzerland, Württemberg, and Prussia.

If, during the Bronze age, there were horses of the forest, steppe, and plateau types, it is conceivable that, notwithstanding the inter-crossing widely practised during recent years, there are still fairly typical representatives, in isolated or outlying regions, of three varieties.* It used to be supposed that in the mouse-dun Tarpan of the Russian steppes we had a distinct variety or species, which had played an important part in the making of the domestic horses of East and Central Europe. This view is, however, untenable, for, as I pointed out some years ago,† the Tarpan of the Russian steppes is a mixture of several varieties; at the most it can only be claimed for the Russian Tarpan that it has in part sprung from wild ancestors. But, though the Tarpan is not a true wild horse, a true wild horse still survives; and it belongs to what I have named the steppe variety. This steppe horse (*E. przewalskii*) is probably identical, as Prof. Ridgeway recently pointed out, with the true Tarpan of the Tartars described by Colonel Hamilton Smith.

Let us now consider the characteristics of the three types of horses mentioned above.

* In a paper communicated to the Edinburgh Royal Society in 1902, I indicated that three varieties of horses can still be identified. These three varieties are described in the paper on 'The Multiple Origin of Horses and Ponies,' published in the Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland for 1904.

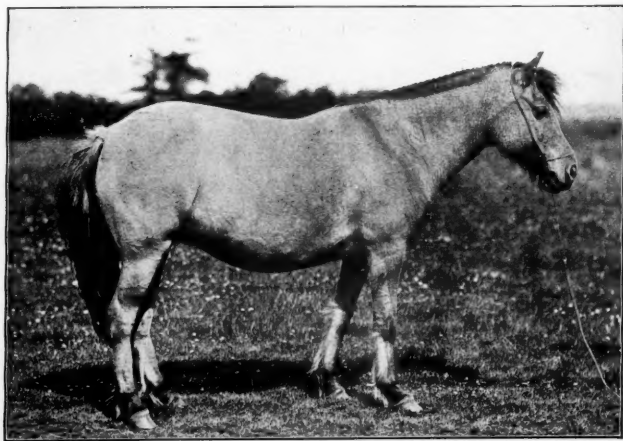
† 'The Tarpan and its Relationship with Wild and Domestic Horses' (Proc. Roy. Soc. Edin., vol. xxvi, 1905).

FIG. 1.



HEAD OF PREJVALSKY'S HORSE, THE TYPE OF THE STEPPE VARIETY.
This Horse is characterised by a very long face, long ears, an erect mane,
a mule-like tail, and slender limbs.

FIG. 2.



A CELTIC PONY FROM ICELAND, IN SUMMER COAT, WITH THE MANE REMOVED.
The Celtic race and an allied Mexican race are the most primitive living representatives
of the Plateau variety.

[To face p. 554.]

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Characters of the steppe variety.—When in 1881 it was announced by the Russian naturalist Poliakoff that a true wild horse still survived in the western portion of the Great Gobi Desert of Mongolia, Prof. Flower, M. Sanson, M. Piètrement, and other naturalists, thought Poliakoff's new horse might only be an accidental hybrid between the Kiang (the wild ass of upper Asia) and the horse. Even in 1902 the young Prejvalsky colts imported from Mongolia were regarded as hybrids; some even believed they were simply the offspring of escaped Mongol ponies. By crossing Mongolian and other mares with a wild Asiatic ass, I made it evident in 1903* that Prejvalsky's horse differed from Kiang mules; and the appearance of a Prejvalsky foal in the Duke of Bedford's herd at Woburn made it further evident that the wild horse of Mongolia, unlike Kiang mules, is fertile.

As a full account of Prejvalsky's horse is given in Dr Salensky's work, I shall do little more than point out how it essentially differs from domestic horses. Unlike domestic horses, the wild horse has an upright mane (and is hence without a forelock) and a mule-like tail. Though in these respects resembling asses, unlike both asses and zebras it has two hind chestnuts, i.e. like ordinary horses Prejvalsky's horse has hind as well as front chestnuts, and an ergot or spur in the centre of each footlock. In colour the wild horse varies from yellow-dun to reddish-brown, but the 'points' are always dark up to at least the fetlocks, and there is a narrow dorsal band; shoulder and leg stripes, if present, are indistinct.

Being a member of the steppe variety, Prejvalsky's horse has a very long face bent downwards on the cranium, as in the Miocene three-toed horse *Neohipparion*. Owing to the deflection of the face Prejvalsky's horse (fig. 1) has a ram-like head; and in some cases, owing to large frontal sinuses and deep nasal fossæ, there is a pronounced 'Roman' nose. Another result of the deflection of the face is that the ears (always long but not wide apart) appear to be unusually far back; while, partly owing to the great length of the face and partly to the shunting upwards of the orbits, the distance between the laterally placed eyes and the nostrils is very great. The deflection

* 'The Wild Horse' (Proc. Roy. Soc. Edin., vol. xxiv, part v, 1903).

of the face on the cranium is so great in the wild horse that a line carried through the base of the cranium emerges well above the tips of the nasal bones; in a forest horse a similar line emerges well below the tips of the nasals. The marked difference between the skulls of horses of the steppe and forest types is made evident by figures 3 and 4. Poliakoff described the legs of Prejvalsky's horse as remarkably thick. As a matter of fact, as Dr Salensky points out, the legs are relatively long and unusually slender, while the hoofs are elongated and contracted at the 'heels.'

Apparently the Mongols have never succeeded in domesticating pure specimens of Prejvalsky's horse. The specimens in my possession are very suspicious, and they strongly resent attempts made to interfere with their freedom. As a rule, the wild horses are determined, stubborn, and untamable, as well as extremely cautious. When full-grown they are well able to defend themselves from wolves, though they rarely reach a height of 13 hands (52 inches) at the withers.

Dr Salensky, when discussing in 1902 the zoological position of Prejvalsky's horse, asked, 'Had it in the past a wider geographical range than it has to-day?' In reply, he said this and other questions could not yet be answered, for 'we have little actual foundation on which to base the answers.' Having since 1902 had the opportunity of studying the habits, conformation, and skeleton of Prejvalsky's horse, and of comparing it with the drawings, engravings, and carvings found in the Dordogne and other caves, I am satisfied that horses of the Prejvalsky or steppe type had a wide distribution during, and for some time after, the Stone age. The large, narrow-browed skull found at Remagen in the Rhine valley, some of the fragments of skulls from the Palæolithic settlement at Solutré in the Rhone valley, as well as bones found at Westeregeln and in Brunswick, undoubtedly belonged to a horse of the steppe type. The evidence afforded by the skulls is supported by the engravings and carvings by the men of the Solutrian and Reindeer ages. In some of the engravings the position of the eyes at once suggests Prejvalsky's horse—they are near the ears, and far from the nostrils; and a drawing from the La Madeleine cave brings out the more striking points of

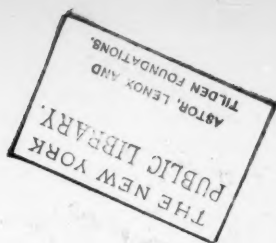
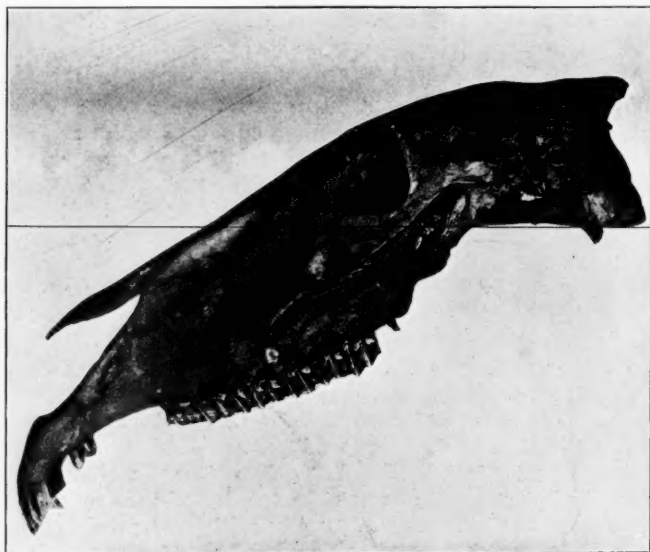


FIG. 3.



LATERAL VIEW OF THE SKULL OF A HORSE OF THE FOREST VARIETY.
As in the Elk and Okapi, the face in this variety is short and nearly in a line with the cranium. (From the Roman Fort at Newstead.)

FIG. 4.



LATERAL VIEW OF THE SKULL OF A HORSE OF THE STEPPE TYPE.
In this skull the face, as in sheep and oxen, is strongly bent downwards on the cranium. (From the Roman Fort at Newstead.)

[To face p. 557.]

the Mongolian wild horse better than any photograph. In this drawing the Palæolithic artist has hit off a very characteristic attitude. The head in its pose is true to life; the outline of the back and hind quarters is surprisingly accurate; and the tail, 'roughened at the root,' seems to me to prove that one of the wild horses in Europe at the end of the Ice age belonged to the same variety as the wild horse now found in the Great Gobi Desert.

The forest variety.—The steppe horse is characterised by a long bent face and long slender limbs; the forest horse, on the other hand, has short stout limbs and a short broad face, almost in a line with the cranium. Until a few years ago the existence of a horse of the forest type had not been recognised. When at Solutré, or in the Rhine valley, or in the vicinity of the Hartz Mountains, fragments of long skulls were found, it was invariably assumed that they belonged to a species with thick coarse legs, because the view has hitherto prevailed that Occidental varieties are characterised by a long narrow head and thick coarse limbs, while Oriental varieties are characterised by a short broad head and long slender limbs. It is, however, only necessary to study the bones in the British Museum from the Essex Pleistocene deposits to perceive that a broad-browed horse with short stout limbs, adapted for a forest life, flourished in the west of Europe at the end of the Tertiary period, or to examine the skeleton of a broad-browed elk-nosed Highland pony, to feel assured that horses of the forest type flourish still. Typical forest forms vary in colour and in their limbs and hoofs; but they agree in having the face nearly in a line with the cranium, and in having the lips, jaws, and teeth adapted for browsing on twigs, leaves, and other soft green food.

In the forest horse the face, in addition to being nearly in a line with the cranium, has the outline of the face concave, except towards the end of the nasals, where, as in the elk, it is distinctly convex. Further, the distance between the orbit and the front (incisor) teeth is relatively less, while the distance between the orbit and the hind portion of the skull is greater, than in the steppe type (see figs. 3, 4). Another important difference is the flatness and greater relative width of the inter-orbital part of the skull. In consequence of these differ-

ences in the skulls, the eyes in the forest horse are far from the ears and relatively near the nostrils, the inner corner of the eye being nearly midway between the nostrils and the top of the head; owing to the eyes being wide apart, the forest horse is 'broad-browed.' In all these respects the modern forest horse resembles the Miocene forest horse *Hypohippus*.

Quite as characteristic as the head are the limbs of the forest variety. In *Hypohippus* the lateral toes helped to prevent it sinking in soft ground. In the modern forest horse, the lateral toes having been reduced to useless vestiges, the hoof of the only toe present (the third) has been greatly expanded, and at the same time the pasterns have been shortened and made more upright. These changes have inevitably led to an increase in the size of the pastern joints, and a widening of the metacarpals and metatarsals. In the forest horse of the Essex Pleistocene the metacarpals are so wide and short that the length is only 5.4 times the width at the centre of the shaft; in Iceland and Highland ponies of the forest type the metacarpals are in length 5.5 times the width of the shaft; in the steppe variety the length of the metacarpals is 7.5 times the width of the shaft.

Forest forms are usually striped or spotted. If they live in dense sunless parts of the forest they may be of a dark colour throughout, like the American Tapir, or have the legs striped like the Okapi; but, if they frequent the more open parts, the body is likely to be striped as well as the legs; while, if they almost invariably move about in long grass, the stripes may be confined to the body, the legs being nearly white. In typical ponies of the forest type the ground colour is dark yellow-dun; and, in addition to a very broad dark dorsal band and to bars on the legs, there are stripes more or less distinct on the face, neck, and shoulders, and on the trunk as far back as the croup. Sometimes there are faint spots on the hind-quarters. The mane, forelock, and tail consist of a great abundance of long wavy hair; at the base of the long dock there is no vestige of a tail-lock. In the forest variety the ears are broad and wide apart; there are six lumbar vertebrae; the outline from the croup to the beginning of the second thigh (gaskin) forms a semicircle, from near the middle of which projects the low-set-on tail; further,

the hocks are not inclined to be close, as in the steppe variety, while the short fore-limbs are decidedly tied-in at the elbow.

In disposition the forest horse differs decidedly from the steppe horse. It is neither suspicious nor stubborn, but, on the other hand, it is timid, and is given to shying; it seems to be ever on the outlook for lurking foes or dangerous swamps, and it hesitates to enter streams which a steppe horse would cross without a moment's hesitation. As in other long-bodied forest forms, it requires a large amount of food; and, partly on this account, partly owing to its conformation, it is not well adapted for covering long distances over dry, arid areas.

At the end of the Ice age the forest horse had probably a wide distribution. It occurred in the south of England; and, to judge by a skull described by Prof. Nehring, it also occurred in Pomerania. From Nehring's description of the diluvial horses, the forest variety seems to have occurred along with the steppe variety in the vicinity of the Hartz Mountains; and it is represented by fragments of broad metacarpals and other limb-bones found at Solutr  and elsewhere in the Rhone valley. That horses of the forest type were familiar to the reindeer hunters is made sufficiently evident by some of the engravings recently found in the Combarelles cave.

The plateau variety.—When slender metacarpals occur in deposits along with large bent skulls they are likely to belong to the steppe variety; but when they occur with small, nearly straight narrow skulls, they obviously can neither belong to the steppe nor the forest variety. Hitherto long narrow metapodial bones found in Neolithic and Bronze deposits have generally been supposed to belong to Arab-like horses brought from the East by the Aryans. When, however, it is borne in mind that slender-limbed horses with small heads existed in France during the Pleistocene period, that slender-limbed Arab-like horses have been described from somewhat later deposits (by Prof. Fraas from W rttemberg, by Dr Marck from Switzerland, and by Prof. Nehring from Germany), the presumption is that horses with a small narrow head have inhabited Europe without break or interruption since at least the Ice age. The most typical members of the plateau variety occur in outlying more or less isolated

areas of north-western Europe and in the south-western portion of Mexico.

Some of the Icelandic members of the northern race of the plateau variety, e.g. the pony figured above, probably retain all the essential traits of the wild prehistoric ancestors. In Iceland, for centuries, ponies have been living in a semi-wild state, almost uninfluenced by either domestication or artificial selection, with the result that ancestral types which happened to reappear have had a chance of being perpetuated. That some of the Celtic ponies from the north of Iceland are ancestral in appearance is suggested by the fact that—though very different in disposition—they look as primitive, as wild-like, as the wild horse of Mongolia. That some of the Mexican ponies have the characteristics of a primeval race is suggested by the fact that, apart from the coat, they closely resemble the Celtic pony in their external characters, and, more important still, in the skull and limb-bones. In the Equidæ there are several hard portions of skin known as warts or callosities; they seem to be vestiges of sole, wrist, or heel pads, still functional in carnivores, lemurs, and many other mammals. The steppe and forest horses have eight such callosities—one in the centre of each footlock, i.e. one behind each fetlock joint, one above each knee, and one inside each hock; but in the plateau variety only a pad (chestnut) above each knee has persisted, and the four footlock pads (ergots) and the hock pads (hind chestnuts) have disappeared. In having lost the hind chestnuts, horses of the plateau variety agree with asses and zebras, but in having lost the four ergots they differ from all the other recent Equidæ.

The plateau, like the steppe, variety is of a yellow-dun colour with dark points; the striping consists of a narrow dorsal band, and, in some cases, of faint vestiges of bars on the legs. In the southern section the winter coat consists of hair about two inches in length; but in the northern section there is a thick under-coat of fine hair and an outer coat of coarse hair which may reach, over the greater part of the body, a length of five or six inches.

In the Celtic race the mane, very wide at its origin, tends to fall to each side of the neck, and it hangs down over the face as a forelock. As in the zebra, the hair, dark in the centre, is light at each side. The dock is

relatively shorter than in the other varieties; the lower three-fourths carry long straight hair; the upper fourth carries during winter a bunch of hair (tail-lock) which affords a considerable amount of protection during snow-storms. This tail-lock is shed during summer. In the Mexican race the mane is about half as heavy as in Iceland ponies, and there is only a vestige of the tail-lock. In the plateau variety the tail, though not so prominent at its origin as in the steppe horse, is in a line with the croup, and not inserted low down as in the forest horse.

In the number (five) of the lumbar vertebræ, and in the metacarpal and other limb-bones, the plateau closely agrees with the steppe variety; but in its skull and in the vertebræ of the neck and thorax it differs from both steppe and forest varieties. Compared with the forest horse, the skull is very narrow; compared with the steppe horse, the facial part of the skull is short and less bent downwards on the cranium. The most typical skulls belonging to horses of the plateau type hitherto met with were obtained during the recent explorations of the Roman fort at Newstead. One of these skulls belonged to a horse measuring 12 hands at the withers, the other to a horse measuring about 14 hands. The small skull, without doubt, belonged to a native British pony; the large one, being finer in build than skulls of modern Arabs, may have been a primitive member of Prof. Ridgeway's North-African variety.

Of perhaps more interest than the skull is the length of the neck and thorax (chest) in the plateau variety. In some ungulates, e.g. the giraffe, the neck is very long; in others, e.g. the elephant, though made up of the same number of vertebræ (seven), it is very short. In horses the neck, though always consisting of seven vertebræ, varies considerably. It is short in the browsing forest horse and in the long-headed steppe horse, but long in plateau horses. The elongation of the thorax, like the elongation of the neck, is due to an increase in the length of the vertebræ. Other noteworthy points in the plateau type are the small narrow ears, large full eyes, fine muzzle, and the small and usually rounded hoofs. Members of the plateau variety are highly intelligent and amiable; they have no instinctive fear of man, and yet are courageous and high-spirited. One of

the Palæolithic drawings represents the head of a horse of the plateau type wearing what seems to be a halter. This indicates that small-headed horses were familiar to men of the Reindeer age, and were in all probability amongst the first to undergo domestication.

The view arrived at in 1902—that at least three distinct types of horses still exist—is supported by skulls and limb-bones recently discovered during the excavations of the Roman fort at Newstead. This fort was for a time garrisoned by a Gaulish cavalry regiment originally raised between the Rhone and the Alps; and during the first or second centuries A.D. *alæ* or *cohortes equitatus* from other parts of Gaul, as well as from Spain, Germany, and the Low Countries, were in garrison near the Scottish border. As the Gauls and nearly all the nations of Central and western Europe, with the exception of the Germans, had long been importing foreign horses from the south of Europe, i.e. (according to Prof. Ridgeway) pure or nearly pure North-African horses, it may be taken for granted that representatives of the more important European breeds, as well as the unimproved 'bad and ugly' horses of the Germans, may have found their way to Newstead about the end of the first or during the second century. Of the skulls found at Newstead some belong to the plateau type; others (which probably belonged to 'bad and ugly' German horses) have the face longer and more bent downwards than in some of the wild horses of the steppe type from Mongolia; while others would fit our largest broad-faced elk-nosed Highland ponies.

Evidence having been submitted in support of the view that three distinct varieties or species still survive, the question may now be asked, What part have the steppe, forest, and plateau varieties taken in the formation of modern breeds?

In Prof. Ridgeway's work, 'The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse,' there is a long chapter on horses during prehistoric and historic times which, for scholarship and painstaking research in widely different fields, surpasses anything that has hitherto appeared in English works dealing with the Equidæ. Having reviewed all the chief breeds of horses, Prof. Ridgeway

arrives at the following among other conclusions: (1) that the horses of Upper Europe and Upper Asia were always dun or white, the vast majority of them being thick-set, slow animals, the minority consisting of the lighter built and more elegant 'Celtic' pony of North-West Europe; (2) that the coarse, thick-set horses of Upper Europe and Upper Asia have continually made their way into the regions south of the great mountain chain which crosses the Asiatic-European continent (p. 422); (3) that the horse has everywhere been driven under chariots before he was ridden, in most cases because he was too small to ride; (4) that, by the blending in various degrees of the coarse thick-set dun and white horses of Europe and Asia with a fleet bay variety from North Africa, all the improved breeds of the world have been produced as well as the various shades of grey, rufous-grey, skewbalds, piebalds, chestnut, and black (p. 423).

Prof. Ridgeway recognises the existence of four kinds of horses, viz. (1) *E. caballus*, (2) *E. c. celticus*, (3) *E. c. libycus*, and (4) *E. prejavskii*. He says it is 'not unlikely the ordinary *E. caballus* of Europe and Asia and the Prejavsky horse have sprung from a common ancestor, or, what is less likely, that the former has developed out of the latter' (p. 425). From this it may, I think, be inferred that Prof. Ridgeway holds that *E. caballus* closely agrees with *E. prejavskii*, i.e. that both are coarse, large-headed, short-necked, thick-set, and slow. The recent exhaustive examination of a series of horse skeletons and of the skulls from the Newstead fort has made it clear that, while some domestic horses in their skull resemble, others profoundly differ from, *E. prejavskii*. In the forest variety the head is neither large nor coarse, while in the steppe variety the limbs are unusually slender and the body the reverse of thick-set. Hence it follows that, in considering the origin of the modern breeds, one must bear in mind that certainly in Europe, and probably also in Asia, there have been since Pleistocene times (1) a short-faced, broad-browed form with short strong legs, and (2) a long-faced, narrow-browed form with slender limbs. Prof. Ridgeway assumes that the Celtic pony, being limited to the North-West of Europe, took little or no part in improving modern breeds. Undoubtedly the Celtic pony and the Libyan

horse are recent offshoots from the same stock, which in all probability originally reached the south of Europe from Central Asia. As previously stated, there is evidence of the existence of a small horse of the plateau type in Neolithic times in Prussia and Württemberg as well as in England. Moreover, it is possible that a member of the plateau type occurred in olden times in India. In the Rig-Veda it is said the ancient Indian horses had only seventeen pairs of ribs. In a skeleton of a Hebridean pony of the plateau type which I had recently set up, there are only seventeen pairs of ribs—a fact which seems to support the view that horses with a small head and slender limbs ranged, during prehistoric times, from England to India.

The horse, Prof. Ridgeway tells us, was known in Peloponnesus about B.C. 1350; but down to the beginning of the present era only two of the numerous references to horses specially call for attention. The one is the often quoted description by Herodotus of the horses of the Sigynnæ (a barbarian tribe north of the Danube), the other is Cæsar's description of the horses of the Germans. Herodotus says that the Sigynnæ 'had horses with shaggy hair five fingers long all over their bodies, they were small and flat-nosed and incapable of carrying men, but when yoked under a chariot were very swift, in consequence of which the natives drove in chariots.'

Prof. Ridgeway arrives at the conclusion that the horses of the Sigynnæ belonged to the large-headed variety. He says that Herodotus' 'description of the appearance of the little horses of the Sigynnæ of Central Europe agrees very well with the skeletons found near Mâcon; the simous shape of the head tallies well with the ugly-shaped skull and powerful jaws of the bone deposits' (p. 94). He further states that in the horses of the Sigynnæ 'we can hardly believe that we have horses such as those whose bits have been found in the later Lake-dwellings of Switzerland' (ibid.). Elsewhere he says that the horses of the Danube in the time of Herodotus were little, large-headed, and shaggy, like the small ugly breed of horses possessed by the tribes of Germany in the time of Julius Cæsar, i.e. the old small European horse with a big head (p. 113).

From recent enquiries, and more especially from an

examination of the skulls from Newstead, it is evident that, in considering the horses of the Sigynnæ (i.e. of Central Europe in the fifth century B.C.), it is not, as Prof. Ridgeway assumes, a question of choosing between the small horse of the Lake-dwellers and an ugly big-headed, thick-set, slow-moving animal, but between three varieties, viz. the steppe, forest, and plateau varieties. The steppe variety must be eliminated; for in winter the coat is not shaggy in the adult, and the nose, instead of being flat,* is invariably arched, i.e. belongs to the 'Roman' type. Nor could the description of Herodotus very well apply to specimens of the broad-headed (forest) type, for the individuals composing it are not characterised by fleetness. The horses of the Sigynnæ must therefore be more or less pure specimens of either the Celtic or of Ridgeway's Libyan variety, or belong to a variety not yet identified.

If, as is probable, Herodotus was familiar with long-headed, Roman-nosed breeds, he would be especially struck with the flatness of the face in the horses beyond the Danube. Fleet flat-nosed ponies with a short, broad head, short legs and a long body (i.e. ponies consisting partly of Celtic and partly of forest blood) are common in the Faroe Islands. Such horses, being stouter than the pure Celtic ponies, would have been strong enough to drag war-chariots, with the additional advantage of being infinitely more active than pure members of the forest variety and more tractable than horses of the Roman-nosed Prejvalsky type.

In support of the view that the horses of the Sigynnæ were what Herodotus described them, i.e. flat-nosed, and not (as Prof. Ridgeway maintains) characterised by large coarse heads, it may be mentioned that in Finland, Norway, and Iceland, as well as in the Faroe Islands, flat-nosed horses are still common. Nearly all the fjord horses of Norway are flat-nosed. Mr Marshall, who has

* Flat-nosed means to naturalists that the outline from the level of the eyebrows to near the nostrils is more or less concave; hence flat-nosed (simous) is the opposite of Roman-nosed, which, in the case of the horse, implies that the outline from above the level of the eyes to between the nostrils is more or less convex. The name 'simia' was applied by Linnaeus to apes and monkeys, because as a rule they are simous, i.e. flat-nosed or snub-nosed.

made a special study of this type, says, 'So far as I have observed, Celtic characters predominate in all the existing fjord horses'; and he states that the Nordlands pony—an old race now said to be extinct—was probably purely Celtic in its characters, and not (as Prof. Ridgeway says) a small horse of the heavy type.* As, at the present day, only about 10 per cent. of the unimproved horses of Iceland have a cross of the coarse-headed Prejvalsky type,† it is extremely unlikely that this type predominated in Central Europe in the time of Herodotus.

It may hence, I think, be affirmed that the horses of the Sigynnæ did not belong to a big-headed, thick-set, slow variety; and, as it is not suggested that they were of Libyan origin—the shaggy hair five fingers long—precludes this—there is apparently no escape from the conclusion that they were either Celtic ponies pure and simple, or a blend of the Celtic and forest varieties.

This implies that the fleet horses of the Sigynnæ were intimately related to, if not identical with, the small horses which the ancient Britons yoked to their war-chariots. These British horses Prof. Ridgeway regards as members of the Celtic variety which I described in 1902. That this is the case has been proved by the skulls so opportunely discovered in the Roman fort at Newstead. One of these skulls is almost identical with the skull of a 12-hands Hebridean pony of the Celtic type, and in its measurements it only differs from a Newstead skull which belonged to a 14-hands horse of the plateau type‡ in having a somewhat larger cranium. Prof. Ridgeway thought that even in Cæsar's time Celtic ponies were 'more or less mixed with the long-headed *E. caballus* of Europe and Asia' (p. 352). That British ponies were mixed at an early period the specimens from Walthamstow amply prove; but it by no means follows that they

* Marshall, 'The Horse in Norway' (Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh).

† The coarse-headed ponies probably reached Iceland from Ireland by way of the Hebrides.

‡ The skull of the 14-hands Newstead horse would exactly fit one of the small-headed yellow-dun horses I came across in Mexico. As it is finer in make than any Arab skull I have seen, and as it closely agrees with the small Newstead skull of the Celtic type, it probably belonged to a pure member of what I have called the plateau variety. As likely as not, the horse to which this fine skull belonged came from North Africa.

had been crossed by a long-headed variety, for the small British Newstead skull undoubtedly belonged to a Celtic pony saturated with forest blood.

The 'bad and ugly' German horses to which Caesar refers evidently belonged to a very different type from the British ponies. Some of the skulls from Newstead are almost identical with the skull of a typical Prejvalsky's horse—a horse which, above all others, deserves the epithets 'bad and ugly.' These large skulls, in which the face is long and deflected, may very well have belonged to horses brought from the Rhine valley by German auxiliaries stationed within easy reach of Newstead. Newstead has also produced very broad, short skulls of the forest type, which probably belonged to short-legged, round-quartered horses, such as one sees represented on Roman tombstones in the Bonn Museum and at Cologne.

Enough has, I think, been said to show (1) that Europe in historic as in prehistoric times had three distinct varieties of horses, and (2) that it would not be quite accurate to describe any one of these varieties as coarse, thickset, and slow; for, though the steppe variety has a coarse head, the limbs are unusually slender, while the forest variety, though thickset and slow, and provided with strong limbs and broad hoofs, has a short broad head with the face dished and in a line with the cranium.

According to Prof. Ridgeway all the improved breeds of the world have resulted from the blending, in varying degrees, of a fleet bay horse, evolved in North Africa, with a large-headed coarse variety of Upper Europe and Upper Asia. If, however, Europe and Asia had three distinct varieties in prehistoric times, the origin of the modern improved breeds is not so simple as Prof. Ridgeway assumes. It is possible that fleet varieties were evolved on the plains of Europe or Asia long before horses of the Libyan type were imported from North Africa; and it is certain that the horses of the forest and Celtic, as well as of the steppe type, have played an important part in the formation of some of the most important modern breeds. But, though Europe or Asia may have produced fleet varieties like the pre-Achean 'swift steed of Adrastus that sprung from the gods,' and the long-maned dun horses of Achilles, and the white horses of Thrace that

were as swift as the winds, it is extremely probable that neither in Europe nor Asia were the conditions in prehistoric times so favourable as in North Africa for the evolution of a fleet variety adapted like the *Neohipparion* of Miocene times for a free life on boundless plains. It is also probable that, though without this fleet North-African variety docile breeds with fine heads and slender limbs would have been formed in both Europe and Asia, we should, but for Prof. Ridgeway's *E. c. libycus*, neither have had the desert Arab nor the English thoroughbred.

In preglacial times there were horses in northern Africa allied to, if not identical with, species which ranged from the Siwalik hills of India to England. During the Ice age there were land-bridges between Europe and North Africa. One result of this was that during interglacial periods it was possible for African forms to migrate into Europe, while during periods of intense cold European forms were able to reach northern Africa. While the land connexions persisted, it would have been possible for the various kinds of horses (i.e. horses of the steppe, forest, and plateau varieties) living in the south of Europe to reach northern Africa and mingle perhaps with the descendants of preglacial species.

These varieties, though well-nigh isolated, would probably remain distinct so long as they retained their freedom. The horses most likely to flourish on the Libyan plateaux would obviously not be horses of the bulky, coarse-feeding forest type, or of the slow, heavy-headed steppe type, but horses of the active, lightly-built plateau type. In course of time the plateau variety would adapt itself to the new environment, just as Celtic ponies from Iceland adapt themselves to the milder conditions of Britain. The coat would be modified, the limbs lengthened (which implies a corresponding lengthening of the neck), the hoofs hardened, and all the more striking traits of the yellow-dun horses with a fine head and slender limbs now met with in Mexico would be gradually acquired. When in course of time the tribes of North Africa set about domesticating the horse—granted several varieties were still available—they would almost certainly, at the outset, select a fleet, slender-limbed variety in preference to either the short-necked, broad-hoofed, forest type, or the intractable mule-like steppe variety.

Horses resembling the northern (Celtic) section of the plateau variety still exist in Europe; but horses resembling the southern section of this variety have not yet been met with, either in Africa or Asia. We know that the horses of the Libyans were fleet, small, and slender, and extremely docile; but about their colour, make, and origin, it must be admitted that nothing is certain. Prof. Ridgeway has arrived at the conclusion that the immediate ancestors of his Libyan variety were richly striped, that, as in South Africa, a profusely-decorated zebra gave rise to the imperfectly banded quagga, a richly-striped species in North Africa eventually gave rise to a bay horse which, though in itself all but devoid of stripes, because of its ancestry, readily produced striped cross-bred offspring. This bay Libyan horse, according to Prof. Ridgeway, was especially characterised by a small head and a high-set-on tail, by a star on the forehead, and 'white stockings,' and by the complete, or all but complete, absence of ergots and hind-chestnuts.

It is doubtless conceivable that the Libyan horse was evolved from a zebra-like species long isolated north of the Sahara; but of this there is no evidence. A study of Mexican horses seems to indicate that Prof. Ridgeway's Libyan horse has descended from a yellow-dun variety which had probably all but lost the striped coat of its remote forest-haunting ancestors before it reached northern Africa. It is, of course, possible that under the influence of the African environment a bay or brown colour was, as Prof. Ridgeway assumes, gradually acquired. But that previous to domestication the Libyan variety was characterised by a star on the forehead and by white stockings is extremely unlikely.

In the original Libyan horse it is assumed that the ergots and hind-chestnuts were very small or absent. Little evidence in support of this view is supplied by the modern horses of North Africa, but it is amply proved by the absence of ergots and hind-chestnuts from Mexican horses. Prof. Ridgeway's Libyan variety is also said to be characterised by the high-set-on of the tail. The high-set-on tail, so characteristic of Arabs, may be a product of artificial selection; but, as a high-set-on tail is often met with in shire and other coarse breeds, it is possible that Arabs owe the position of the tail to steppe

ancestors.* In the forest variety the tail looks as if it had been an afterthought, as if it had been inserted at the centre of the half-circle formed by the hind-quarters. In the Celtic variety the tail is in a line with the vertebral column, but its root is somewhat below the level of the croup; i.e. it is set-on somewhat low. In the case of the steppe variety, however, the croup is usually nearly level; and the tail—obviously a continuation of the backbone—is sometimes nearly as high as the highest part of the croup. While the croup is level and the tail is set-on high in many Arabs, the tail in Barbs is often set-on considerably below the level of the croup which frequently droops. Hence further investigations may show that in the horse of the ancient Libyans the tail was set-on, as in the Celtic pony, somewhat below the level of the croup, and that the high-set-on tail associated with certain Arab strains, if not an inheritance from Asiatic steppe-like ancestors, is a product of artificial selection.

Given in prehistoric times a small North-African horse which only differed from the Celtic variety by having a bay coat, relatively longer limbs, a longer neck, more oblique shoulders, and narrower hoofs, i.e. a horse adapted for a somewhat trying life on a more or less arid plateau—given a variety of this kind—the question may be asked, What part has it played in improving the indigenous horses of Europe and Asia? Has it been, as Prof. Ridgeway asserts, to the blending of this fine North-African variety with a coarse, large-headed, slow-moving European-Asiatic variety that we owe all the improved breeds of horses now living? and is it because of this blending that, in addition to dun and white horses, we have now various shades of grey, rufous-grey, roan, skewbald, piebald, chestnut, brown, and black?

The view that the improved breeds have resulted from the blending of a fine bay African variety with a coarse, thick-set, European-Asiatic variety of a dun or white colour is partly founded on the assumption that stripes and a dark colour are in all cases mainly due to an infusion of Libyan blood. This implies that, but for the Libyan variety, the majority of the horses of Europe

* This view is supported by a hybrid obtained two years ago by crossing a round-quartered Hebridean pony with a Prejvalsky stallion.

and Asia would still be of a dun or white colour. It is quite true that by blending horses of a bay, yellow-dun, and white colour, it is possible to obtain horses of a black, brown, chestnut, roan, and grey colour. But, as experiments extending over a number of years have demonstrated, it is possible, by crossing light yellow-dun Celtic ponies with dark yellow-dun forest horses, to obtain bays and chestnuts.* The blending of bays and chestnuts thus obtained with pure yellow-duns may at once result in black and white varieties which, by further crossing, yield greys and roans. I therefore venture to think that the horses of Asia and Europe would have varied greatly in colour without the infusion of bay blood from North Africa.

The presence of stripes seems to me to afford evidence of forest, not of Libyan blood. Mexican horses with stripes are almost invariably built on the lines of the forest type, while in horses with a small narrow head, slender limbs, and a short body (i.e. horses of the plateau type), the only indication of a striped coat may be an indistinct narrow dorsal band. The dun-coloured fjord horses of Norway agree in this respect with the Mexican horses, the nearer they approach the forest type, the richer the striping; the nearer they approach the Celtic type, the fewer and less distinct the zebra-like markings.

By way of indicating how the 'improved breeds of the world' may have originated, it will be sufficient to refer to cart-horses and to the English thoroughbred. Prof. Ridgeway says 'our best English breeds of cart-horses owe their excellence to the North-African horse' (p. 373). The view that English cart-horses are genetically related to a North-African variety is in part based on the assumption 'that the black breeds of the world are the result of mixing African blood with that of the horses of Europe and Asia' (p. 369). In the dark coat, together with the 'star' on the forehead and 'white stockings,' we have, according to Prof. Ridgeway, 'clear proof of that North-African blood which began to be infused into the horses of north-western Europe from about the second century B.C.' (p. 368). The evidence afforded by colour

* 'Coat Colour in Horses,' by J. C. Ewart. Communicated to the Royal Society, Edinburgh, February 1907.

is not conclusive. Dark and light varieties, not uncommon amongst wild forms, frequently make their appearance amongst domestic forms; and, once having appeared, perhaps as the result of intercrossing, there is always a chance that, by artificial if not by natural selection, they will be perpetuated.

For the comparative study of domestic animals, there is little material available. There is, however, in the special collection of domestic animals in process of formation in the British Museum material for the study of shire and thoroughbred horses. By careful measurements I find that the skull of the shire 'Starlight,' though very much larger, is almost identical with the skull of a three and a half year old Prejvalsky horse from Mongolia, and with a strongly-bent skull from the Roman fort at Newstead; in no single point does the shire skull suggest a horse of the plateau type. But, while shires have a skull of the steppe type, the limbs are built on the lines of the forest type. In a typical shire the metacarpal bone is in length 5.4 times the width at the middle of the shaft; it thus agrees with that of a typical forest horse. As the other limb-bones and the vertebræ have the characters of either the forest or the steppe variety, it may be said a study of the skeleton of a shire horse confirms the conclusion arrived at by a study of the callosities and other external structures, viz. that a typical shire horse is a blend of the steppe and forest varieties.

One of the most successful sires in the thoroughbred stud-book is 'Stockwell.' From the drawing of this race-horse by Harry Hall,* it is evident that 'Stockwell' is a blend of several varieties. The forehead is prominent and the eyes are near the ears, but far from the nostrils, as in the steppe type, while the neck and limbs are long and fine as in the plateau type. From an examination of the skull in the British Museum it is at once evident that the face is even more bent downwards on the cranium than in the shire 'Starlight'; and, when measurements are made, it becomes evident that the face was relatively as long as in 'Starlight.' It hence follows that, in its skull, 'Stockwell,' while differing decidedly from the plateau or Libyan type, closely approximates to

* 'The Horses of the British Empire.'

the steppe or Prejvalsky type. In the vertebræ of the neck and trunk 'Stockwell' belongs to the plateau type. In Harry Hall's drawing the body is very long; nevertheless there were only five lumbar vertebræ; the great length was therefore not inherited from forest, but from plateau (Libyan) ancestors. In 'Stockwell' the metacarpals are long and narrow; instead of being in length 5.4 times, they are 7.3 times the width of the shaft, and the terminal phalanx (coffin bone) is narrow, 93 mm. instead of 140 mm. as in a typical shire horse. 'Stockwell' has, like 'Starlight,' a skull of the steppe type; but, instead of having thick coarse legs, he has the limbs, as well as the neck and thorax, of the plateau type. In many respects unlike 'Stockwell' is the thoroughbred 'Melbourne,' who, though 16 hands high, with immensely powerful shoulders and quarters, had 'a very neat head, a short neck, and a long back.' Unfortunately the skull of 'Melbourne' has not been preserved; but, from the information available, he seems to have been a blend of plateau and forest blood.

It may hence be said that a study of the conformation and skeleton of shires and thoroughbreds supports the view that the improved breeds are not merely a blend in varying degrees of a fine bay horse from North Africa and a coarse thick-set slow horse of Europe and Asia, but in some cases a blend of three or more distinct types, including the steppe and forest varieties, and the northern or southern section of the plateau variety.

J. C. EWART.

Art. XIV.—THE PROSPECTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN RUSSIA.

THAT there is no salvation for Russia without a democratic Parliament and a Cabinet responsible to the peoples' representatives, and that a governing Duma will right the nation's wrongs and inaugurate an era of material prosperity, is an axiom accepted by almost every newspaper-reader on the globe. Everybody thinks himself familiar with the ills that infect the body-politic of Russia; and everybody is therefore curious to see whether the infallible remedy, which is so simple and obvious, will be applied in time to ward off the catastrophe. Yet Russians themselves behave as though they had no knowledge of this panacea or lacked faith in its efficacy. Some of them are clamouring for a republic; others demand a socialist State; many are working for anarchy; while a large number yearn for the old régime and the good things that came in its train.

Last summer few Russians put any trust in M. Stolypin's promise that a second Duma would assemble on the 5th March, and that a series of Reform Bills would be laid before it. The elaborate preparations made for the meeting of the second Parliament were set down as a hollow mockery; and the present Prime Minister was dubbed a mealy-mouthed shuffler. This theory was disseminated with such perseverance and supported by means of such plausible fiction that only critical minds could shake it off. Before the elections were over, however, it became evident, even to the simple-minded, that the Tsar's Ministers were playing fair. Had they, then, been calumniated by the patriots? By no means. The righteously indignant journalists informed their readers that certain foreign States, France in particular, had made it clear to the Stolypin Cabinet that, if the Duma were dissolved, Russia's financial condition would become unbearable. The Tsar's Government had been frightened into fair play. And now the Russian public, knowing its catechism by heart, is aware that the second Duma would have already fallen a victim to an infamous Government had it not been for the enlightened sympathy and timely support of republican France. That being the current

theory in Russia, is it to be wondered at that the general public in Central and Western Europe still shrugs its shoulders scornfully at the mention of M. Stolypin and his colleagues, to whose tender mercies the Tsar has delivered over his people?

Every competent observer approaching the subject in a fair spirit will probably see that, however estimable the personal character and however statesmanlike the political designs of M. Stolypin were, he gave his enemies a convenient handle against the Government and a strong argument against the régime by adopting a plan of campaign with two fronts. This may have been a necessity, in which case it is his misfortune, not his fault. Against the reactionaries he was leagued with the Liberals; against the revolutionists he relied upon the army; and, like all persons who have to struggle against two opposing tendencies, he went too far now in this direction now in that. Thus, during the period which began with the dissolution of the first Duma last summer and ended with the opening session of the present Parliament in March, his line of action, as marked by repressive measures, and his line of thought, as indicated by liberal promises, far from running parallel, were at right angles to each other. His utterances were uniformly conciliatory and his acts were nearly always provocative. The promises he made were constitutional and reassuring, and the circulars he issued were arbitrary and irritating. He undertook to let the population choose its own representatives freely, but his subsequent action justified the assumption that his definition of freedom was inadequate; for he disqualified as candidates 180 of the obnoxious deputies of the first Parliament, and he disfranchised as voters many categories of peasants and labouring men whose sympathies were revolutionary. Yet he went about the uncongenial task in a clumsy, ineffectual way, drawing a sharp line at downright illegality.

In this work of weeding out, Russian bureaucrats are inexperienced. To 'fudge the ballot-box' is an electoral manoeuvre the intricacies of which they have yet to learn. Hence the means taken by M. Stolypin to compass his end were petty, circuitous, unavailing. He eliminated really good men whose presence would have been helpful to the cause of law and order, such men as Prof. Kovaleffsky,

who was excluded on a technical issue; and he opened wide the Duma portals to professional revolutionists. Members of secret and public organisations, who scoff at the milk-and-water methods of a legislative Chamber and believe in blood and fire as means of regenerating the nation, were elected to the Duma and welcomed by the people. Then the Premier arbitrarily divided the political parties into legal and illegal, the former being privileged because they were expected to vote with the Government, and the latter unprivileged because they were not. Civil servants were forbidden to belong to the illegal parties, although, the ballot being secret, they could not be kept from voting for them. Now it may be that those were all measures which the Cabinet had a formal right to adopt; but they certainly did not favour the theory of free elections, and, what is more to the point, while discrediting the Government and embittering the people, they defeated the object for which they were taken.

Nor was this all. M. Stolypin, or his coadjutor, M. Kryshanoffsky, went much further. Recognising the fact that the electoral law was a two-edged sword, they naturally sought to clutch the handle which their enemies were holding. Some officials were for repealing the statute and drawing up another on narrower lines; for the Act had originally been framed with a view to giving the peasantry a decisive part in the elections, on the assumption that the tillers of the soil must necessarily be the staunchest supporters of the altar and the throne. In the meantime, however, that belief had been exploded. The *mooshiks* in the first Duma had proved as revolutionary as any other element except the workmen; and now the authorities would have been delighted to undo what it had done for them—to disfranchise several categories of voters, deprive the peasantry of a part of their influence, and invest the landed proprietors with a larger share. But, unluckily, their hands were tied; the electoral law cannot be modified without the consent of the Duma. This barrier, although raised with the sanction of the Tsar, the bureaucrats would have cleared at a bound. But their intention remained a pious desire owing mainly to the steady refusal of the Premier to break the bounds of legality, which he considered it his duty to respect; and between violating that guarantee

and executing it there seemed no third course, for, conformably with the solemn promise given by the Tsar, neither that particular statute nor any of the fundamental laws may be modified without the Duma's express consent. In this matter, then, where to stretch a point would perhaps have been to score a brilliant victory, M. Stolypin was inexorable; and his self-abnegation merits ungrudging praise.

But he tried immediately afterwards to effect by hook what was impossible by crook; he contrived to rule out several classes of indocile voters in a roundabout way; and, while respecting the letter, he violated the spirit of the Tsar's promise. The expedient looks like one of those petty subterfuges to which politicians have recourse in everyday life, and which reveal the meannesses of the human mind. The Government drew up a list of desirable changes in the electoral law; and the Senate, which is the highest court of appeal in the Empire, effected them noiselessly. A number of senators were officially asked to clear up certain doubtful points that might arise in interpreting the law; and, as their answers were invariably restrictive in tendency and obligatory in character, they differed little from new statutes. Friends of the Government have sought to show that even here M. Stolypin had formal right on his side; and in respect of some of the questions referred to the Senate, the contention may be upheld. But it has been reluctantly admitted, even by political supporters of the Government, that in at least two cases the Senate's interpretation was opposed to the terms as well as to the spirit of the law. And this admission casts a slur on the consistency, although not the good faith, of the Premier.

Against M. Stolypin's policy much worse things have been said with equal reason, even by his fellow-workers. For instance, he has been frequently accused of worshipping God, so to say, and lighting a candle to the devil, of severing a branch of an evil and pouring water on its roots. Thus, having proclaimed freedom of elections, and therefore of electioneering agitation, he nevertheless allowed martial law to supersede the maxims of jurisprudence and to take away the elementary rights of the citizen. A voter, a candidate, anybody in fact, was liable, in virtue of that summary code, to be arrested

or sent out of the district without rhyme or reason, delay or appeal, the will of the provincial governor sufficing. And this was done in the name of order and for the purpose of putting an end to incipient rebellion and growing anarchy. The first duty of a government, it was argued, whatever its political programme, is to ensure respect for law and to maintain public peace. That is true; but the strength of the principle lies in the universality of its application. There must be no islands of anarchy in a pacific ocean of order. M. Stolypin, however, tolerated, and still tolerates, a whole archipelago.

His guiding motive is not sympathy with this party or antipathy for that; he cares only for the good of the community. It is opportunism pure and simple, that unalloyed opportunism which, in latter-day Russia, is subversive of authority. Some of his colleagues, for instance the Minister of Public Instruction and the Minister of Commerce, truckle to the students of various high schools who ostentatiously defy the Government, openly insult the monarch, and perseveringly plot against the régime. Crimes perpetrated within the walls of educational establishments are minimised, condoned, or glorified, like the offences committed by the gods and goddesses of Olympus. *Quod licet Jovi non licet bovi*. In those sanctuaries of 'science,' revolutionists may hold public meetings and secret sittings, plotting against the State in a State building and at the public expense. It is become one of the privileges of their caste. That is an island on the left. On the extreme right a similar kind of indulgence is practised. The reactionary League of the Russian People, whose principal aim is to put back the clock of time and recall the halcyon days of the autocracy, was allowed a degree of liberty which even a Talmudist could hardly distinguish from licence.

This bowing to the right and genuflecting to the left on the part of an administrator professing to abhor all acceptance of parties is more characteristic of the hero of a comic opera than the head of an Imperial Government. An extreme case is fairly described in one of the Moscow reactionary journals as follows: 'Two offenders are in their prison cells. One of them having just been elected to the Duma, the Governor of the province hastens to release him, and most respectfully enquires, "To what

party do you belong?" "I am a bombist." "Very well, here is the money for your travelling expenses. I wish you Godspeed and thorough success." This equilibristic policy may succeed for a while and enable M. Stolypin to steer clear of dangers to himself and his Cabinet, but the destinies of a great nation cannot fitly be made dependent upon the outcome of such petty makeshifts. It saps the throne, the altar, and the Duma, and puts nothing in their places. It is a policy which only gross flatterers or sarcastic critics of the Premier term Machiavellian.

But Russian politics are even more bewilderingly entangled than might be inferred from the foregoing outline. The wheels within wheels are countless. Even the Prime Minister has to choose his words and shape his acts in accordance with a set of considerations among which awe of certain extremists, zeal for the public good, and indulgence for the parties on whose support he relies for parliamentary results, are but a few. He has also to reckon with the reactionary tendencies of the Court party, with the sensibilities of the Crown, and with the unsolicited and often mistaken advice of candid and importunate friends of Russia among foreign nations. With such a variety of obstacles a statesmanlike policy would be the result of a miracle or a fluke. Hence, in the Minister's occasional successes, chance plays a part more considerable than calculation.

It is on record that several times in the course of his half-year's tenure of office M. Stolypin made urgent proposals to the Crown in favour of a line of action which he honestly believed indispensable to the weal of the community. When his suggestions were categorically rejected, though on grounds which the Premier deemed inadequate, he withdrew them with a good grace. It is clear then that, whatever general policy, whatever particular projects, M. Stolypin may wish to carry out, he never feels at liberty to consider them solely on their merits. Like certain poets of the Renaissance, who undertook to compose verses without employing certain letters of the alphabet, he has to govern the Empire with a limited use of a limited number of means, any of which is liable to be set aside on grounds that are admittedly irrelevant. Under such conditions it would be unfair to expect a firm, rounded policy which, restoring law and

order, will engraft constitutional institutions on the Russian nation. Fitfulness must still characterise the acts of the Government; uncertainty will remain the keynote of the situation; unforeseen incidents will continue to shape the policy.

What the Russian press emphasised and the people grasped in all this was the conflicting character of M. Stolypin's policy; and, as it was open to two explanations, they naturally refused the Minister the benefit of the doubt. Quite naturally; for in Russia the representative of the Government is, to the bulk of the nation, what the devil was to medieval Christians. Every stick is good enough to beat him with; all means, however criminal, are permissible if they help to upset his power. Consequently the belief took root that the Cabinet was resolved to destroy with its right hand what it was fashioning with its left. Behind the scaffolding where political builders were at work the Government was really erecting a vast barracks in lieu of a permanent parliament house. Such being the gloomy foreboding, surprise was naturally great when a series of significant facts belied it. The unexpected was again happening; and this time it was a pleasant surprise. The autocracy then had really disappeared, and the millennium was at hand. From one extreme people rushed into the other, in both cases irrationally. A little encouragement, a slight pretext, was all that they needed. Before the deputies arrived in St Petersburg the outlook had been black and dismal. Once they had come together, spoken, voted, and behaved themselves in European fashion, the world's verdict was not merely quashed, it was reversed, and what had been black became white in a twinkling. And yet the premisses from which the public drew these conclusions were but episodes too slight to serve as the basis for such weighty inferences.

Take for instance the opening of the Duma. It was characterised by an utter absence of pageantry, a minimum of ceremony, and a noteworthy falling-off of public interest. The monarch kept away from the Tavrída Palace; and the people refrained from gathering in the streets. In one thoroughfare only, hard by the Parliament House, there was a throng of socialists, revolutionists, unemployed working-men, and hooligans; and

from their midst came shouts of 'hangmen, murderers, scoundrels, blood-suckers, cannibals,' as Ministers or Conservatives went by. It was a detachment of the proletarian army, containing a sprinkling of individuals with blotched faces, bloodshot eyes, heads which Lombroso would have photographed for his album of degenerates, mostly unkempt, unwashed, embittered creatures, who had emerged from the depths to watch the beginning of a social upheaval. On the return of the revolutionary deputies, splutters of enthusiasm broke out in various places. The dwarfed figure of a socialist member, for instance, was lifted high above the level of the crowd, his pale pinched features now rising now falling on the crest of the human wave—an idol of the moment, a symbol of the new order of things. 'And after a fiery speech he was solemnly borne away,' says an eye-witness, 'as a miracle-working image is borne aloft in religious processions.' Other human symbols—mostly socialists—were also devoutly carried away, under the shadow of red flags and kerchiefs, to the accompaniment of revolutionary songs chanted by mutinous schoolboys and nominal students. Speeches too were delivered in many tones and strange accents, the gist of them all being that the Duma had come to usher in a new order of things, and that its deputies rely upon the people, who must therefore unite, discuss, arm, and be ready to defend them. In one part of the street an officer was being roughly maltreated by students and working-men. Freeing his hand he drew his sabre and brandished it high above the heads of his assailants. The mounted gendarmes, catching sight of this military man who appeared to be in danger, cantered forward, whereupon the surging throng dashed against the houses, burst open the gates, and took refuge in the courtyard of a German church.* The troops were hissed; the mounted police were greeted with the words, 'murderers, hangmen'; and almost every recognised servant of the Government was treated as a public enemy. These introductory scenes were significant.

Inside the Tavrida Palace proceedings were orderly and ominous. At the very outset the sheep and the goats were separated. From the 'Te Deum' which was chanted

* 'Novoye Vremya,' March 7, 1900.

by the bishops the members of the Opposition kept away. 'They honour neither God nor the Tsar,' was the comment of their adversaries. They ought perhaps to have added, 'in public.' When the monarch's greeting was being read in his own words by his Secretary of State, only the Conservative deputies rose to their feet, all the others remaining seated, although this mark of respect has been universal in Russia for centuries. At the end of the words of the Imperial welcome a member of the Right cried, 'Long live the Emperor!' and in response a loud 'hurrah' was uttered by the members of the Conservative and Moderate parties, all the others continuing silent and seated. 'Tu quoque, fili mi,' was the ejaculation of a distinguished dignitary when made aware that ex-Minister Kutler, the Tsar's present pensioner and recent official adviser, deemed the monarch unworthy of any external marks of respect. Such tokens of anti-dynastic feeling were noted all the more observantly and regretted all the more keenly that ex-Minister Kutler and his party constitute the only possible nucleus of a working Duma, the future centre of the legislative assembly, the group without whose efficient co-operation no parliamentary work can be accomplished.

Passing from ceremony to business, the second Duma sustained its character and played its part. But it is not yet one with the nation either in thought or act. The Constitutional Democratic party, which is incontestably the best disciplined, the most thoroughly trained and enlightened group in the Chamber, uniting with the revolutionists, elected a member of its own party to the post of president, and afterwards chose two vice-presidents, one secretary, and five assistant secretaries, all from the Opposition groups, none of which possessed as many members as the United Right. Yet the United Right was excluded absolutely from each of the eight offices of the Duma, and this with the active assistance of that Centre without whose collaboration the second Russian Parliament will be no more than a public meeting. By friends of Russian freedom this strange act, and the still stranger spirit that inspired it, were deeply deplored; for such intolerance may well be fatal to that community of thought and feeling without which the Russian Sphinx question will not be bloodlessly solved. The

beginning of parliamentary wisdom is the fear of intolerance; and that salutary fear has yet to be instilled into the hearts of Muscovite politicians, even of those who possess such long experience and cherish such high aspirations as the 'Cadets,' who might, if they were well advised, become the real leaders of the Duma.

There had been reason to suppose that they were well advised and would rise to the rôle assigned to them; for, shortly before the Duma met, it was announced that these friends of constitutionalism in Russia would change their tactics in the new Parliament, eschew clamorous attacks on Ministers, and discountenance treasonable appeals to the people. It was added that, instead of trying to take the Government citadel by storm, they would lay siege to it in a regular way, relying upon parliamentary strategy, patience, and the growing feeling of dissatisfaction in the country. As the 'Cadets' are past-masters in the art of parliamentary strategy, having served a long apprenticeship in the Zemstvos, the more moderate parties are at a disadvantage, which is all the greater that it is not felt as such. Members of the Right and Left smile unsuspectingly in presence of serious danger, and blithely walk into the nets spread for them by the wily 'Cadets.' And it was generally assumed that the Cabinet too, now that it has lost the assistance of M. Gurko, would prove equally simple-minded and gullible. Since then, however, public opinion has undergone a change. M. Stolypin, whose sole claim to distinction was hitherto supposed to rest upon his personal courage and political integrity, is now admired as a parliamentary strategist, a resourceful leader, a forcible speaker, and an eminent statesman. Great things are hoped of him because the little things which he achieved were unexpected.

The Premier quitted his splendid prison in the Winter Palace and entered the Duma on the 19th March, an untried Minister who had come to read a programme and listen with patience to sharp criticism and biting sarcasm; and he left the building that same evening a political Cæsar, *veni, vidi, vici* writ large in his beaming face. His official declaration, which represented the thoughts of many heads working for several months, was heard in sullen silence. On his lips the magic words had lost

their charm. Yet the Minister was definitely promising all the reforms for which thinking Russia has pined since the days of Catherine II, and he was holding out the prospect of others more important which three years ago few would have ventured to hope for. But the promise was unheeded, and the declaration fell flat. Can any good thing come out of the Winter Palace? deputies asked. Even a Magna Carta in the hands of the Tsar's present advisers, some added, would be surely metamorphosed into a law of coercion, and a *Habeas Corpus* Act turned into a *lettre de cachet*. Less biassed persons, viewing the official declaration as a list of important reforms which the Government is willing to carry out if the people eschew violence, judged it comprehensive as a programme and suasive as a Ministerial manifesto. But it carried conviction to no one. And M. Stolypin might have gone back to the Winter Palace as he had left it, were it not that the adversaries of the Government helped him to a veritable triumph.

Scarcely had the Premier quitted one tribune when the Socialist deputy, Tseretelli, from the Caucasus, occupied the other: after the Tsar's adviser, the throne-breaker. The party upon whom numerical strength, parliamentary experience, and influential position imposed the obligation of replying to the Minister was that of the Constitutional Democrats. Standing between the Government and its foes, they might have parried the blows aimed at the régime without running any risk. But they preferred to step aside and let them fall upon M. Stolypin. With that object in view they had announced that they would waive their right to speak and merely submit an order of the day without any comment upon the official announcement. If all fractions of the Opposition had followed their example, the plan of contemptuously ignoring the Cabinet might perhaps have succeeded. But the scheme was thwarted by the Social Democrats. Their spokesman, Tseretelli, in a speech whose inordinate length was not fully compensated by its fire and eloquence, addressed the people over the heads of the deputies, exhorting them to organise, unite, keep their powder dry, and rely upon their own right arm. The speech was a *vade mecum* for Russian malcontents, the quintessence of the revolutionary catechism, an inflammatory appeal to the people

of Russia, composed for circulation through the length and breadth of the Empire. Intense and ruthless class hatred was the keynote of this war-song, the like of which was never before chanted in the hearing of the Tsar's subjects, in one of the monarch's own palaces. The series of similar discourses which have followed will do more for the cause of revolution in Russia than all the secret agitation and all the millions of leaflets by means of which anarchists, revolutionists, and socialists are rousing the people to revolt. Comrade Tseretelli is a Tyrtæus whose chants are in prose. The Christian meekness and rapt attention with which his Majesty's Cabinet listened to this call of the muezzin of the revolution from the minaret of the Duma constitute one of the bitterest of the many bitter ironies of the present situation.

Comrade Tseretelli's speech was not the only exhortation to the people. Other extremists took up the song of subversion right lustily, the stirring strains of which caused the hearts of millions to thrill on the morrow. And the Cabinet Ministers looked on the while, as the child described by Victor Hugo contemplated and enjoyed the pretty flames that were devouring the house in which it was playing. The rhetoric of the deputies of the Right was just good enough to serve as a foil for the vigorous eloquence of these political iconoclasts. One Conservative speaker had the doubtful taste to sneer at the foreign accent of the Georgian socialist, instead of expressing satisfaction that members of other nationalities should be able to utter their thoughts in the language of their rulers. One remark, however, it is difficult to suppress: the principal spokesmen of the revolution on that memorable day were two Caucasians and one Mohammedan, all three of whom claimed to speak in the name of the Russian people. 'Tu l'as voulu, George Dandin.' The only clever comment made that day by a member of the Right was that, if the people is to settle all its affairs itself, the Duma has no longer a *raison d'être*.

At last the Prime Minister, taking everybody by surprise, rose and delivered the short, dignified speech which has made him famous. The acceptable moment had come, and he utilised it. He and his colleagues had spent several hours in the stuffy air of the Duma, attentive, collected, respectful; and the general impression was that

they had had quite enough of word-weaving and would gladly retire. But the impression was erroneous. M. Stolypin had carefully followed the debates, perceived his opportunity, and then said a strong word at the right moment. The gist of his utterance was this. 'If you have come here to work for the people who delegated you, I will stand by you and co-operate with you. Even if your schemes should conflict with mine, unfold them none the less. I will bring an open mind, a sympathetic disposition, and a spirit of compromise to the study of your projects. Give me a trial and you will find me even better than my word. But, if you have not come for legislative work, if your mission is subversive—well, you will find me prepared for that contingency also. As for the long speeches of the revolutionary orators, they may be summarised in two words, which they address to the Government—"Hands up!" To those two words I make answer, "You shall not frighten me." Bear well in mind that this Ministerial bench is not a prisoners' dock. Here sit the members of his Majesty's Government, which is, and shall continue to be, Russian and resolute.'

Such was the drift of the speech of the day. There was no statesmanship in the ideas or eloquence in the words; but everybody felt that there was a living and self-respecting man behind them, who had spoken with sincerity and would act with energy. And the crowd bowed down before him. After that M. Stolypin rose to his full height, a Brobdingnagian among Lilliputians. That same day the Tsar, who was kept well-informed of everything that was going on at the Tavrida Palace, sent a letter of thanks to the Premier such as no other Russian Minister had ever received from his Imperial master. It was couched in terms which are said to have caused intense pleasure to the recipient. Flushed with success, M. Stolypin forgot his caution and actually walked down the Nevsky unescorted and unattended.

Since then the Duma has witnessed tournaments of rhetoric and contests of strategy, but has done no stroke of solid work. Day after day the Ministerial benches have been occupied by officials who fret and chafe at the life of forced idleness—a life made almost intolerable by the obligation of listening with seeming respect to the lisp of political children at their lessons. Everybody

feels impelled to speak, nobody is moved to work. The Left alone is accomplishing its mission steadily, delivering violent speeches, having them printed and distributed, and keeping in close touch with the revolutionary organisations in the country. For the deputies of those groups the Tavrida Palace is a sort of Roman College of the Propaganda, where black cardinals meet in council, deliberate and direct the campaign. The Prime Minister, sitting motionless for hours in the shadow of the tribune, is impatient to be up and doing, and literally jumps at every opportunity offered him to proceed to business. Thus one day he impulsively applauded the motion of an adversary tending to rescue the Government from the fire and lay it on the gridiron; another day, when asked for his opinion about a proposal before the House, he rose to offer it, but was snubbed by the Speaker gratuitously.

The Parliament is become a mere political meeting. For two days of seven hours each the Duma debated a question which it was eager, yet admittedly incompetent, to solve. A motion had come before the Chamber to repeal, within twenty-four hours, the law creating military field tribunals for the trial of terrorists. A business man would never have begun the discussion, unless, like the revolutionist members, he had ulterior aims in view; for the obnoxious law, being extra-parliamentary in its origin, must be extra-parliamentary also in its end. Promulgated by the Administration acting on its own responsibility, it remains in force for two months after the meeting of the Duma, and is then abrogated automatically. Even if the Duma had been theoretically qualified to raise the question, it would have been well advised to waive its right, because nearly two months would have been needed to carry the motion through the two Chambers and obtain the sanction of the monarch, whereas, in less than two months, the law will have ceased *ipso facto* to have any force. But the Duma acted like the traveller who, having missed his train, refused to wait four hours for the next, and impatiently set out to walk a hundred miles. The level of the debates was below that of a third-class country meeting in England or France. Peasants, working-men, youths, possessed by a fixed idea, uttered aloud snatches of their day-dreams.

The Duma itself resembles a series of numerators to which no common denominator has yet been found. And it is not easy to find one. Patriotism will assuredly not serve the purpose, because 40 per cent. of the deputies are non-Russians. Nor is loyalty to the monarch—a sentiment which supplies the centripetal force in Austria—likely to provide the common denominator for Muscovy; for, if to-morrow the Duma had its choice, it would abolish the Empire and proclaim a democratic republic by a large majority. The present régime is drifting towards its Tsushima rapidly, unconsciously. The horizon of the Duma is narrow. Each fraction or group of fractions is absorbed by its own little interests, which, like Archimedes, it wishes to shield from destruction, whatever fate may befall the community. Hence, while it might be possible to unite the fractions of the Duma on some destructive 'reform'—and not only possible, but more feasible than people imagine—there is little hope of coalition among them for the purpose of doing solid legislative work.

Indeed the Duma, as at present constituted, would seem to lack both the mental equipment and the political dispositions without which no assembly could make useful laws for a nation in straits. Sixty-five per cent. of the five hundred deputies already elected are said to be uneducated, ignorant of the rudiments of politics and the elements of legislation. The peasants' notion of the functions of a legislative Chamber would make a British schoolboy smile. Many conceive of it as a vast politico-ethical clearing-house, the clerks of which are wonder-working overmen to whom nothing is impossible. Hence petitions to the deputies keep coming in from various parts of the Empire, asking to have all manner of blessings bestowed and a variety of grievances redressed. One petition, for instance, calls upon the Parliament to tear up a lease possessed by certain Jews, take the land from them, parcel it into lots and rent it to the peasants at a rate specified. Another petition beseeches the Chamber to deprive the local gentry of their estates and give them to the peasants, who alone should possess the land. Then there is the humble prayer of the peasant who asks permission to marry his sister-in-law, and the supplication of a nun who sets forth how she has been betrayed by a sinful monk and would now like to know what the

Duma can do for her. And as the peasants think and feel in their villages, so they continue to think and feel in the Duma. For them there has been no Pentecost between the elections and the sittings.

One of the most reasonable of Russian reformers, Prince E. Trubetskoy, whose name and efforts are well and favourably known in Great Britain, describes the members of the Duma in the following terms :

'The elections to the Duma' (he writes) 'offer scant promise of solace in the near future. Our pessimistic predictions have unhappily come true. The Centre has suffered defeat, and the two wings have been formed at its expense. Speaking generally, the election returns may be characterised in two words. They signify the victory of nihilism and, at the same time, the defeat of constitutionalism and of culture.

'The victory is with that current which is the negation of the Duma. And in this trait the extreme Right agrees with the extreme Left. The members of the one strive to annihilate the Duma in the name of the autocracy, while those of the other, who discern nothing in legislative work except the soiling of paper, appear in the Duma for the purpose of demonstrating its impotency as a legislative assembly. It is the meeting of two equally subversive currents of Russian life. God grant that they may not combine in a general destructive flood in the Duma.'

There are many other and more sanguine seers who confidently expect that the legislators now assembled on the banks of the Neva will evolve order out of chaos. They hold that, if the Constitutional Democrats, who seemed destined to form the Centre, would but modify their tactics and use their influence with the Left, everything else would move like machinery with newly oiled wheels. But not only is this contingency very remote, but, even if it were realised, the results would be still substantially unchanged.

'It is not difficult' (writes Prince Trubetskoy) 'to perceive that the mass of the Left wing will be found to consist of individuals whose education does not go beyond an acquaintance with halfpenny pamphlets and whose intellectual equipment amounts to cut and dried formulas learned by rote. People of this calibre are incapable of giving laws, even if they are willing. Their refusal "on principle" to set them-

selves to organise work is very convenient for them, inasmuch as it screens their incapacity and ignorance.*

None of the parties in the present Duma seems numerically strong enough, morally influential enough, or politically clever and enterprising enough to take the lead, stamp its character on the Duma, and prove practically to the world that Russia is ripe for parliamentary or even constitutional government. Not one. The United Right, composed of moderate Liberals, moderate Conservatives, and fanatical reactionaries, is said to be actuated by patriotic motives, for its three groups have agreed to forget their differences and support the Government so long as the policy pursued is tolerable. The point of view is certainly commendable. But how long the parties would continue to hold it, if M. Stolypin's programme were being fairly and squarely carried out, it is not easy to divine. For that programme is decidedly liberal, so liberal indeed that its embodiment in working institutions would of necessity entail all the other concessions demanded by the Left, including the formation of a new democratic government of the South American type. This change would follow from that inevitably. When, in the fairy-tale, the young owner of the magic tablecloth, on which abundant viands appeared whenever it was spread, offered to barter it for the box out of which an unconquerable army of invisible and irresistible soldiers might be despatched anywhither on any errand, he well knew that the box, if he once had it, would soon bring back the tablecloth. And, when the owner of the unseen army naïvely exchanged it for a miraculous piece of damask which he might have readily obtained by force, he merely found his level in this fluent world. In like manner, if M. Stolypin were, for peace' sake, to bestow upon the revolutionaries power enough to uproot the régime stock and branch, it is hardly to be expected that those Conservatives who are Russian patriots first and supporters of the Cabinet afterwards would haul down their colours and surrender their fortresses, for they claim that they are not mere hirelings. They feel conscious that they are fighting for Russia, not for this or that class of the population; for the monarchy, and

* 'Moskovsky Yeshenedyelnik.' Cf. also 'Grashdanin,' March 7, 1907.

not for this or that member of the dynasty. For these and kindred reasons, which will suggest themselves to the observant, it is manifest that the United Right could not lead a Chamber composed of a majority of deputies for whom even M. Stolypin's programme is not sufficiently liberal nor his method of realising it sufficiently expeditious.

If the Conservatives are unable to take the Duma in hand, with a view to making it work, the groups of the Left are both unable and unwilling, for they are the enemies of the present constitution. Republicans, socialists, or fanatical revolutionists—their first impulse would be to have the Duma abolished, just as the first aim of the rebellious students used to be to get the universities and high schools closed. But they have since come to see that the Chamber, like the high schools, may be made subservient to their purposes. They are excellent accumulators of revolutionary forces. Hence the Duma has become to them as the apple of their eye. They are minded to utilise it to the fullest extent. 'With this object in view,' writes an eminent Russian journalist, 'they have changed the word "revolution" into "opposition," and militant outbreaks are forbidden.' They are even said to be ready to make concessions to the Cabinet, to listen to its Bills, to discuss them with a semblance of seriousness, to ask questions respecting them, in order, after a long lapse of time, to throw them out. And during all this, the revolutionary propaganda will go on briskly, successfully. For the revolutionists are neither hirelings nor weaklings, but selfless apostles who often seek and seldom recoil from martyrdom.

These tactics are not only cleverly thought out, but skilfully executed. Every speech delivered by a prominent member of the Left is a judicious mixture of all the ingredients required for arousing the dormant passions of the mob; and in every district there are organisations ready to store the accumulated electricity. The debates of the Duma are the revolutionary seed; and it is being sown by the sack. In a word, the Duma has become a political pulpit; the press is a mechanism for the printing and publishing of diatribes against the régime; while the representatives of that régime hospitably harbour these throne-destroyers, and pay them regularly ten roubles a

day for their subversive activity. The results are abundant. Daily, new recruits flock to the revolutionary camp, fresh converts to anarchy or terrorism abjure the doctrines and traditions which hitherto cemented the Russian nation, and even those who still rally round the standard of Monarchism are furtively making ready to go over to the enemy. Revolutionary preachers are labouring for the cause in the army; revolutionists in considerable numbers have taken service among the police; even the detective department found that some of its employ  s were terrorist spies; and a vast network of anti-governmental organisations is spread over the Empire.

Who can seriously entertain the thought that the chosen representatives of the bodies who have accomplished, and are still accomplishing, so much to revolutionise the nation will now slink back and undo their own handiwork? What order of considerations will furnish the motives for such a penance? Legislative work in the Duma would necessarily entail tranquillity in the country; and tranquillity in the country would spell ruin to the subversive societies which live on disaffection and thrive on rebellion. An official document of the Russian socialist Labour Party, which has been read in the Duma, lays it down that, 'Only under the pressure of great masses of the people, only under the stress of a national insurrection, will the army, on which the Government leans, give way, and the citadel of autocratic despotism fall.' When the army has become mutinous and the strongholds are taken, the party—according to this document—intends to put an end to the present r  gime and establish a democratic republic. Yet this is one of the parties from which optimists anticipated useful legislative work in the Duma and salutary influence upon the ranks outside! The truth is that the Duma is revolutionary because the country at large is revolutionary; and the country is revolutionary because the Imperial Government was incompetent, intolerant, despotic, and unenlightened.

If the parliamentary extremes cannot be looked to for light and leading, much is not to be hoped from that more moderate party which might have become the Centre. Yet the Constitutional Democrats or 'Cadets' are the cream of the Duma—cream turned sour. The most elo-

quent orators, the most ingenious tacticians, the best disciplined partisans, the ablest organisers and the quickest trimmers are to be found in their ranks. Professors, lawyers, journalists, physicians, Zemstvo workers, are among its devoted adherents. All, too, are animated by a strong spirit of party, which would work wonders were it a spirit of something broader, better, and more spiritual. It is from this party spirit that the mainspring and the aims of its political action are derived. The 'Cadets,' believing that they alone can save the fatherland, are impatient to see themselves at work. With other political groups they have no patience, indeed, they conscientiously baulk the activity of other parties, considering it harmful and unpatriotic. Averse to bloodshed, they are past-masters in parliamentary tactics and political strategy. Unsupported by force, they practise the cunning of the fox and are consequently regarded with suspicion and listened to with mistrust.

'Jesuits of the Revolution' is the name which a member of the Right conferred upon the 'Cadets' during the historic debate of 26th March. And Russian parties, like individuals, know each other much better than they know themselves. The artfulness of the 'Cadets' is such that they have been caught in the meshes of their own finely-woven nets; and more than once their well-laid schemes were frustrated by their excess of cleverness. All-powerful in the first Duma, they might have governed the Empire agreeably with their party maxims if they had not ruined their prospects by trying to render assurance doubly sure. It is urged against them in the present Duma that they first joined hands with the social revolutionists and other enemies of the régime in order to have the Speaker elected from their own party, after which they endeavoured to shake themselves free from the sinister partnership.

A curious incident, of which the Speaker was the hero, is narrated with relish as characteristic of the tactics of the 'Cadets.' While it would be unfair to suppress the story, it would be a mistake to exaggerate its importance. Shortly after the first sitting of the Duma a French journalist interviewed the Speaker, M. Golovin. The head of the Duma and the correspondent being acquaintances of some years' standing, their relations were friendly, not

formal, and the flow of conversation was easy and smooth. For that very reason the interviewer was careful in listening and cautious in writing. One passage contained a stricture on the Premier which attracted attention. From Paris the interview was telegraphed back to St Petersburg, where it was denied formally and emphatically. Not any one passage in the interview was complained of or challenged, but the whole account from beginning to end was set down as a fabrication. Nay more, the Speaker affirmed that he had had no conversation whatever with the correspondent. But, when the French journal arrived in St Petersburg a few days later, it was seen to contain besides the dialogue a photograph of the interviewer writing in his notebook the words which the Speaker was addressing to him. Challenged to explain or deny these facts, M. Golovin has made no sign.* Rumour affirms that the sweeping denial was made by the party, and that the Speaker, as a docile partisan, had no choice but to acquiesce in it.

The 'Cadets,' who had their chance in the first Parliament, and let it slip, and will doubtless have other opportunities in future representative assemblies, can evidently do nothing to render the present Duma capable of legislative work. Therefore all parties are, so to say, in the same boat, and the legislative assembly is struck with paralysis. The Duma can revolutionise, it cannot tranquillise the nation; and for that reason a Government with a policy and a will would have dissolved it. But it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the Tsar has no Cabinet, the Ministers have no policy, and the nation has no Government.

Outside the walls of the Tavrida Palace the flood of disaffection, lawlessness, terrorism runs mountain-high; and there is no voice to command the waves. All articulate Russia is smitten with revolutionary fever and its talk is delirious. Students, scholars, women, maidens, boys of fifteen and sixteen, are full-fledged members of fighting legions, manufacturers of explosives, caretakers of bomb-depôts. Universities, high schools, technical

* 'Peterburgskaya Gazeta,' March 20 and 23; 'Birshevyia Vedomosti Rossiya,' March 24.

institutes enjoy the privilege of extritoriality, which is usually termed autonomy, and use it for the benefit of the revolution. The entire school-going and student generation are in a bad way. The revolutionary fever is drying their very souls up. At present the annals of Russian educational establishments are but statistics of crime. There are no other events to record.

Take a typical instance, which may be generalised without fear of error. The grammar-school boys of the enlightened city of Tula are, the press affirms,

'addicted to drunkenness. They take an active part in robbery and murder. That is a genuine fact. In one robbery in Tula a grammar-school boy played a part. Another grammar-school boy murdered the director of the Tula State Grammar School; the armed attack made upon the inspector of the grammar-school six months ago was also perpetrated with the co-operation of grammar-school boys. Over and over again the masters of the State Grammar School have been summoned to the gaol in order to identify their pupils.'*

The masters and professors often defend the guilty or the accused with a degree of zeal worthy of a better cause. Thus recently, in the 'Retch' newspaper, Prof. Wernadski wrote, not to condemn the murder of a Moscow policeman committed by four students, but in order to pour the vials of his wrath upon the authorities who sent these murderers for trial before a military court. He alleges that the students acted in such a silly, thoughtless way that capital punishment seems too severe for them. Consequently the clumsy criminal shall go unpunished!

The other elements of active and thinking Russia are also similarly diseased; their ideas are disordered, their talk delirious, their acts are criminal or suicidal. The workmen, for instance, who are by far the best organised of them all, are toiling to ruin their own prospects. A few years ago they were utter helots, who laboured for twelve, fourteen, and even sixteen hours in order to earn just barely enough to live. To-day, for nine hours of inferior work, they are generally paid well, in some cases so much that the profit of their employers is but nominal. Wherever they are underpaid or badly treated, it is quite

* 'St Petersburger Zeitung,' March 16, 1907; 'Novoye Vremya,' March 15.

reasonable that they should protest and strike. But the demands which they make in the majority of cases are preposterous. Before the strike of the crews of the Caspian steamers was ordered, the employers were asked to abolish all work on Sundays and holy-days even when at sea. If these and other strikers persist in idleness much longer, the industrial population of central Russia will be impoverished, and the poorer classes generally be hard set to satisfy their absolute needs.

The peasants are likewise inoculated with the malady in its agrarian form. They want land without paying for it; but, if they can obtain it by means of crime, they are well satisfied. Socialistic theories saturate their minds. Their political teachers are dangerous fanatics, men of one book, and that a political penny pamphlet. Their schools are often revolutionary temples from which only the goddess Reason is absent. The love of God and the fear of the devil are fast going out of their lives; and they take to violence as readily as a duckling to water. There are still tens of thousands of peasants who cling to the faith of their fathers and respect the traditions of their fatherland; there may even be millions of them; but they are silent, inarticulate, without influence.

Russia, therefore, is revolutionary; and for that reason the Duma is revolutionary. The nation is uncultured; and for that reason the bulk of her representatives are boors. Now an assembly composed of individuals who are partly incapable of reasoning logically, partly unable to reason at all, and most of them eager to pull down the political and social framework of the State, is not the kind of parliament to make helpful laws. Still less is it a gathering of statesmen willing and able to rescue the people from the dangers that compass them round.

The first Duma was as revolutionary as is the second, but it grossly miscalculated its strength. It relied fully on the support of the nation, only to find that it was leaning on a broken reed. The parties of the present Chamber have profited by that bitter lesson. They know that, if the nation is their hope for the future, it is not their mainstay for the present. Aware that the forces of the revolution are scattered, disunited, and only semi-conscious, they are seeking to join, animate, and organise them. And this can be done only by such powerful

centres of attraction and radiation as the Duma, the electoral colleges, the educational establishments, the factories, and the press. Hence the parties in the Duma and the students in the universities will endeavour to avoid everything that might serve the Government as a good ground for dissolution, and they assume that it will not be contented with a mere pretext. That is the alpha and omega of the tactics now being adopted by the deputies, who, to a certain extent, have secured the half-reluctant, half-conscious co-operation of the Cabinet.

But the dissolution will come. It is only a question of time, and of a very short period of time. And yet the Government, longing to find a co-operation in the people's representatives, would have met these halfway. M. Stolypin was literally panting for an opportunity to show how liberal his programme is; and the Constitutionalists have perhaps seriously damaged their cause by refusing to submit his promises to a practical test. But Russian Constitutionalists, like Russians of every other party, are deficient in political acumen. They are incapable of making plans and executing them. If in this respect the Tsar's advisers had been superior to the rest, they would have made hay while the sun shone from August last until March. What they will now probably do is to dissolve the Chamber, promulgate a new electoral law, and perhaps authorise the Council of the Empire to exercise temporarily the functions of a consultative Chamber.

The question has been often asked, whether it is still possible for the autocracy to recover its lost position and rule the country on the old lines without causing a financial smash or a political catastrophe. At present, of course, this is but a speculative query. It is as though sailors, shipwrecked on a sandy, treeless island, should set themselves to discuss whether they could sail across the stretch of ocean that divides them from land. The answer is affirmative in both cases, provided that there is a seaworthy boat for the one task and a ruler of men for the other. History offers a striking instance. Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia conceived the idea of taking back the reins of power thrown to the nation in a moment of fear; and he had his way, despite the opposition of a Chamber that struck the words 'by the grace of God' from his title, and refused to recognise his claim

to adjourn the assembly without its consent. It was a risky design, but he compassed it.

What was arduous in Prussia is easy in Russia—or rather it would be if there were a man of will to undertake the task. Whether such a man is living in the Tsar's dominions, has been doubted. One fact is very obvious, that he is not active. There is no one to raise a breakwater against the spring floods of the revolution, which may at any moment submerge the land.*

There is, however, a group of Monarchists, Conservatives, and reactionaries who are irreconcilable enemies of the revolution and devoted defenders of the throne. For them the throne is a sacred politico-religious symbol; and they refuse to believe its occupant capable of sacrificing the autocracy in the interests of the autocrat. Under a bold leader they feel that they would work wonders. But they are leaderless and probably mistaken as well. They hold that the October charter is already too great a concession to the revolution, and they add that if M. Stolypin's programme were carried out there would be nothing left for them to defend. They censure the Government's policy as suicidal, and speak as though they would brook its realisation only up to a certain point; for it bestows rights upon the Duma which render the refusal of further and sovereign rights dangerous to the peace of the country and subversive of the security of the monarch and his religion. High above the loyalty of this group to persons is their loyalty to principles; and the success of their cause, if it be not already lost irretrievably, depends upon their never being obliged, during the present revolution, to choose between the two.

* There are a few individuals who, while gifted with the strength of will to tackle the problem, lack the moral or intellectual qualities. M. Durnovo or M. Gurko are disqualified by their reputation, M. Pikhno by his unwillingness. The Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolayevich might possibly succeed if he had experience of parliamentary life. M. A. B., who seems to understand the situation and its possibilities better than any one else, is almost unknown to the Tsar.

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
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